

# THE AMERICAN



VOL. I.—NO. 26.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1881.

PRICE, 10 CENTS.

## WEEKLY NOTES.

THE troubles of the new Administration are by no means abated, the unfriendly critics of its policy of conciliation finding every day new room and reason for abusive comment. The disagreement with Mr. CONKLING over the nomination of Judge ROBERTSON is, perhaps, the most serious of any; but we feel convinced that it will prove the easiest way of settlement, if Mr. GARFIELD is firm in his assertion of his rights as President. Nothing is necessary now, except a repetition of his treatment of Mr. CONKLING during that famous visit to New York, during the Presidential campaign. Then, as now, Mr. GARFIELD was assured that his political future was at stake, and that, unless he took measures to conciliate the New York Senator, there was no hope for him. Now, as then, let him throw himself upon the support of the Republican rank and file of the Empire State, and give them notice that, unless they will fight under his leadership, he will do without their support. They will answer as they did last summer, when they came near leaving Mr. CONKLING out of the campaign. Indeed, they are responding already in that way. It is found impossible to get the Assembly to rescind its vote of approval of the nomination of Judge ROBERTSON; and a decided majority of the Republican papers of the State give it their cordial support. A few have, like the State Senate, eaten their own words on ascertaining that Mr. CONKLING disapproves. But this is not true of the greater number.

For Mr. GARFIELD to surrender at this point, and to turn his back upon Civil Service Reform of every kind by giving the New York Custom-House over to Mr. CONKLING and his friends, would be to ensure the disintegration of the Republican party. He was elected by the support of men who took the Administration of Mr. HAVES as a pledge that the Senatorial Machine was to domineer the party no longer. And if they find themselves mistaken in that matter, neither Mr. GARFIELD, nor any other man the Republican party is likely to put in nomination, will receive their support in 1884. It is not only in New York and New England that the danger of a break lies now. No one who has watched the course of Pennsylvania politics during the last six months can have failed to see that the Machine-breaking instinct is becoming a dominant one in that State, and that there is no security that the movement which gave Pittsburg and Philadelphia Democratic Mayors may not result in helping a Democrat into the Presidential chair.

IT is no secret that there is not within the Cabinet itself that perfect harmony which the friends of the Administration desire to see. It is not to be expected that Mr. JAMES should be altogether satisfied with Judge ROBERTSON's nomination. But the extent of his dissatisfaction has been exaggerated. The Postmaster-General has never cared much for political manipulation. He gave his whole energy to his own office when he was in New York, and he seems to be doing the same at Washington. He is a man who can be happy in hard work, even when he is not having his own way. We sincerely hope that no disturbance of the political atmosphere will do anything to interrupt his labors for the improvement of our post-office system, and that, before his four or eight years of incumbency are over, we shall have post-office savings-banks, cheap money-orders, better postal communication, and all the other reforms which this department calls for. It is here that

we believe Mr. JAMES's ambition to lie, and not in the management of New York appointments for the benefit of his especial friends in the party.

Mr. WAYNE MACVEAGH's name has been freely used by the newspaper people in connection with the nomination of Mr. CHANDLER as Solicitor General. It is said that the selection was made at Mr. BLAINE's request, without consulting Mr. MACVEAGH, and that the latter resents this action as tending to deprive him of the proper control of his own department by giving him, as his principal subordinate, a gentleman who is certain to dissent from him on many important legal questions, especially as regards the South. We must confess that the selection of such a man as Mr. CHANDLER for the place in question, has been a disagreeable surprise to us. We inferred from Mr. GARFIELD's inaugural, as from all his previous utterances, that he meant to pursue a policy of firmness and conciliation toward the South. We still hold to that belief. But the nomination of Mr. CHANDLER we find hard to reconcile with it. If Mr. GARFIELD had avowed himself of Mr. BLAINE's mind in the matter, and were prepared to "swing the bloody shirt," we should have found no puzzle in it. We can see no sense in appointing Mr. CHANDLER, unless the Attorney-Generalship is to be "put into commission," and Mr. BLAINE is to have an equal voice with Mr. MACVEAGH in its management. But that is a mode of combining firmness with conciliation that we hardly expect the President to adopt. And, on behalf of the Independent element of the Republican party, we protest that one Cabinet appointment was little enough as a recognition of their services, without having it cut down by one-half in this way.

On one point we are sure that the newspapers are wrong. It is not true that Mr. MACVEAGH is opposing Mr. CHANDLER's confirmation by the Senate. If he has made fight in this matter, it is, as the Scotch say, "with stekit duirs." And when he cannot assent to the President's act as final, he will show his resentment by resignation, and not by intrigue. He is a gentleman, and, therefore, incapable of playing the part taken by Mr. BRISTOW in Mr. GRANT's second administration.

THE chief legislative chamber of the greatest of republics continues to put off the transaction of public business until the majority can secure a transfer to themselves of the petty offices and small patronage connected with its management. It cannot be said with truth that these offices possess any political importance, or that the present incumbents could in any way interfere with the public business so as to defeat the will of the majority. The offices simply are wanted for this and that political dependent, of whom the most illustrious is the Mr. GEORGE C. GORHAM who wrecked the Republican party in California, and who again comes to the front as a useful "political worker," when the party has anything to give. So deeply has the corruption of our public men by the Spoils System penetrated the national Senate!

It should be understood that the Democrats are ready at any time to proceed with the public business, and that the Republicans refuse to allow them to do so until this dispute over the offices has been settled in their own favor. They are obstructionists, pure and simple; fighting, not—as Mr. PARNELL and his friends did,—against the passage of laws to take away personal liberty, but

simply to get a number of Democrats out, and a set of Republicans into their places. And several of those Republican papers which applauded the expulsion of the Irish obstructionists from the House of Commons, applaud, in these Republican Senators, conduct which has not a thousandth part of the excuse that might be urged for Messrs. PARNELL and BIGGAR.

SOME of the Senators seek to justify their struggle for the offices by the plea that the motive of the Democratic resistance is to be found in the hostility to Mr. MAHONE, and that they are bound in honor to stand by that representative of the "New South." On this ground, they have carried the debate into the old field of Southern grievances and the necessity for "a free vote and a fair count." We fail to see any connection in the two things, except that, by a bargain with Mr. MAHONE, one of his immediate adherents is to be the new sergeant-at-arms. If the Democrats opposed the election of this official only, we should give them the credit of having a higher motive than we can now ascribe to them. But the simple truth lies on the surface. Both parties are fighting for exactly the same paltry end, and there is no great principle at stake on either side. And we believe that the country is heartily sick of such bootless harangues as have taken up their time for weeks past. It has been looking to Mr. GARFIELD's Administration for a termination of these sectional disputes, and finds the orators on either side as ready as ever for discussions which can do nothing towards the removal of the political evils which afflict the South, but may do much to perpetuate them by keeping up sectional irritation.

IT is said that Mr. CONKLING is using this delay to work up the opposition to the confirmation of Mr. ROBERTSON, and that he has gone so far as to bargain for the support of the anti-Tammany Democrats in the New York Assembly, as this is needed to secure him the votes of certain Democrats in the United States Senate. There is great reason to doubt this rumor, which goes so far as to specify the Governorship of the State and part of the Custom-House patronage as the price to be paid. The two points which impart to it any probability, are the uncontrollable temper of the New York Senator and the fact that he was so recently engaged with the same Democrats in a trade for offices, in New York City, Mr. CONKLING's enemies can wish him nothing worse than that it should prove to be true. In that case, the days of his political rule are numbered. For a Stalwart leader to strike hands with the Democrats in such a transaction, would be simply suicidal, as Mr. CAMERON and his friends discovered in the Senatorial struggle in their own State. He could not carry his followers with him, and would forfeit by the act all claim to their allegiance. Nothing could be more happy for Mr. GARFIELD and for the New York Liberals, than to have Mr. ROSCOE CONKLING discovered in such a bargain with the Democrats.

CINCINNATI has followed the excellent example set by Pittsburg and Philadelphia, in rejecting an objectionable Republican candidate for Mayor, and taking a Democrat in his place. Under Mayor JACOBS, the character of the city was deteriorating very steadily. The Sunday laws were openly violated, and those to regulate the sale of liquor remained a dead letter. Low places of amusement flourished, and disreputable houses possessed immunity from police interference. This policy was followed because it was thought necessary to secure to the Republican party the vote of the Democratic part of the citizens; and Mr. JACOBS, himself a German, was taken as an adequate representative of the wishes of his friends. But the Germans of Cincinnati have repudiated this insulting theory of their political attitude. They refused to give Mayor JACOBS the unanimous support which was expected of them; and when *The*

*Gazette* led off a bolt of the law-abiding members of the Republican party, a large part of the German Republicans went with them to the support of the Democratic candidate, Mr. MEANS, who has just been elected Mayor. This is just what we should have expected. While our German fellow-citizens cannot be expected to abandon at once the tastes acquired on the continent of Europe, and to acquiesce very heartily in our Sunday laws and our liquor laws, they are by no means so unanimous in the matter as is commonly assumed. And the best of them have no sympathy with a loose and dishonest administration of the laws for the sake of party policy. They are, in the main, on the side of good and pure government everywhere. While American cities have had native American bosses, Irish Catholic bosses, and Irish Protestant bosses, none of them has ever groaned under the yoke of a German boss, —a place to which Mayor JACOBS seemed to be aspiring. Cincinnati has the moral support of St. Louis in this action, as the latter city throws over its usual Democratic rulers, rejects Mr. OVERSTOLZ, and elects a Republican, by way of showing that it will not take any kind of nominee the bosses may choose to select.

IN Wisconsin, as in other quarters, this is proving a very bad year for the Machine. The State has given a Republican majority, as usual; but it has been much reduced, and there have been local revolts of great significance. It is said that the continuation of the rule heretofore exercised by the Milwaukee Ring will result in giving the State to the Democrats.

TENNESSEE follows Minnesota into the paths of public honesty. The Legislature has finally and most unexpectedly passed the law assuming the whole principal of the debt at three per cent. interest, the coupons being receivable in payment of taxes. This is a reduction from the interest the State originally offered, but it is a more favorable offer than that which a majority of its creditors agreed to accept. They agreed to such a reduction of the principal as would bring the interest at the old rate to about the amount now proposed. The State, therefore, agrees to pay them as much interest as they asked, and to maintain its first promises with regard to the principal, which they did not expect. It is true that Tennessee has hardly a right to expect to borrow money at three per cent.; but if that Commonwealth will co-operate in effecting the repeal of the Eleventh Amendment, it will make its credit every bit as good as that of the United States, and it will then be able to borrow as easily at four or three-and-a-half per cent., as formerly at five or six. That amendment is costing the honest States millions of dollars of interest every year of their existence, and is giving demagogues, like the Low Tax party in Tennessee and Mr. MAHONE in Virginia, their opportunity to upset the politics of any Commonwealth which finds itself financially embarrassed.

THE report of the two commissioners sent out by *The Globe* of Toronto to investigate the workings of the Prohibitory Law in Maine, constitutes, at present, the most readable part of the contents of that somewhat heavy newspaper. The two are of opposite views as to the advisability of such a law, and they go together in their tour of investigation, but make their daily report independently of each other. They have found that, under the strictest law that can be devised, amended repeatedly to meet the views of the Prohibitionists, it has been found impossible to suppress the liquor traffic in Portland. Under six years of the administration of the law, by officials as zealous as NEAL Dow himself, the utmost accomplished was that the open sale was no longer possible, and it could be had only in places accessible to none but the initiated. At the end of the six years, the people of the city elected the Democratic candidate for the post of sheriff, expressly because he would not enforce the law; and for the past few months liquor has been

obtainable at the principal hotels, in the drug stores, in the oyster saloons, and at a great number of low groceries in the back streets. While the time of the drought was at its height, Yankee ingenuity was taxed to the utmost to evade the law or escape its administration. Liquor was kept in one house, and passed through tubes to another for sale. It was carried about in flat vessels on the person, especially of women, and sold from these on the streets. It was enclosed in barrels of sweet cider, with ingenious faucets, which furnished the innocent fluid if turned in one way, and the "crooked" if turned the other. And, last of all, it was obtained by organizing clubs, which imported a supply from Boston, and divided it among the subscribers *pro rata*.

And yet, although all this is known and admitted on all hands, it is also agreed that there is to be no repeal of the law. It is thought to have made drinking so disreputable, and to have robbed it of so many of the fictitious attractions by which the young are decoyed into the ways of alcohol, that even those who doubt the logic and the principle of the law will do nothing to effect its repeal. A good number of them take the ground occupied by the doubtful politician who told his constituents that he was in favor of a Maine law, but opposed to its enforcement. This, of itself, we regard as an argument against such legislation. It is a misfortune to have on the statute-books a law which many honest people regard as impracticable, and in whose violation they acquiesce. And, unless we have misread human nature, the fact that whiskey can be had in Maine only by the evasion of a law regarded as tyrannical, will, of itself, give zest to drinking habits which they would not possess otherwise. So the wise king thought: "Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant."

BOTH branches of the Legislature of Pennsylvania have approved the proposal to submit to the people an amendment to the State Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in that State. But, under the provisions of the new Constitution, this requires the approval of a second Legislature before it goes to the people, so that it cannot become law until 1883. This delay gives the liquor interest their chance, which they should not fail to embrace. They should secure the passage and the enforcement of a strict license and regulation law, so that, by the time the people are called upon to vote for or against Prohibition, the liquor business will have become less offensive to the public than at present. It is impossible to predict that Prohibition will pass both the next Legislature and the popular vote; but "stranger things have happened," and the chances of its passage will be increased immensely through matters being left as at present.

Our esteemed contemporary, *The Times* of New York, has been invited by some ardent Republican newspapers to step out of the party, in order to find a proper field for the advocacy of what they call,—we think rightly,—its Free Trade theories. *The Times* protests that it does not want Free Trade, as it acquiesces in the necessity of raising a large revenue by duties upon imports. We should not like to charge our contemporary with trying to throw dust into the public's eyes; but this looks very like it. We presume that it will admit that England is a Free Trade country, although she raises a very large proportion of her revenue by duties upon importations from abroad. And we have not discovered any English Free Trader, except Mr. RUSKIN, and possibly Mr. J. NOBLE, who proposes to abolish the English custom-houses and to dispense with revenues from this source. The very test of a protective duty is that it is imposed, not merely for revenue, but to discriminate in favor of the home producer; and for that reason it is higher than if imposed for revenue only, and its reduction would increase the revenue. And the Free-Trader is the man who would reduce all such duties to the point at which they would yield the

largest revenue, with no reference to the interests of the native producer. It is exactly to that end that *The Times* has been working, while repudiating the name of Free Trader, which exactly describes it. *The Times* should have "the courage of its opinions."

Our contemporary tries to define its own position as that of an advocate of a careful revision of the duties imposed by our existing tariff. A bill for that purpose was passed by the Senate and was before the House in the last Congress. What sort of support *The Times* gave to that bill, is written at large in its editorial references to it. Does it forget its brilliant argument against such revision, on the ground that the present tariff had grown up in a sort of hap-hazard way, and that its destruction in the same fashion was quite in order? *The Times*'s ideal of careful tariff revision was, until very recently, Mr. J. S. MOORE's bill to remove the duty from manufactured quinine.

MR. GLADSTONE's eleventh budget is not so sensational a document as the last was. It has nothing in it which is calculated to produce a sensation like that which attended the removal of the tax from malt to malt liquors. But we may be sure that it represents a careful and penetrating survey of the fiscal situation, that its proposals are such as will be borne out by the transactions of the coming year, and that it will command the instant acceptance of the House of Commons. On no point would the Tories less care for a conflict with their great adversary. Finance is Mr. GLADSTONE's very strongest point. And yet we think there are facts which he fails to see,—that the incidence of English taxes, in the main, is vicious and mischievous, and that the country needs more direct and less indirect taxation. Thus, he takes off the addition made last year to the Income Tax, although the classes which pay that tax can very well afford it, and need relief far less than do the poorer classes, which find the price of nearly every necessary article increased to them by some tax being wrapped up in that price. All indirect taxation is objectionable; and a nation which no longer needs that form of taxation as a discrimination against the foreign producer, should retain it only upon articles like whiskey, false hair, shoddy, tobacco and dogs, with a view to discouraging their use. But the actual system in England raises all but a fraction of the revenue from these taxes, which fall upon the poorer classes equally with the rich, and which thus tend to increase the inequalities of condition.

Another weak point in English finance, in which Mr. GLADSTONE feels obliged to acquiesce, is the dilatory treatment of the national debt. About ten years ago, a Tory newspaper, in a paroxysm of irritation with Mr. GLADSTONE's innovations, declared that "he would be for attacking the national debt next." We are sorry to say that we see little chance of any vigorous attack on that public burden. Something has been done in a pottering way, through the Sinking Fund Commissioners and their sale of terminable annuities; but the limit of what can be effected in that way has been reached and not found marvellous. And now the Premier proposes to spend twenty-five years in wiping out sixty millions, or a good deal less than one-twelfth of the principal. The amount to be paid in twenty-five years is just one-third more than the United States—a much poorer country—paid off in the four years of Mr. HAYES's administration. And in those twenty-five years, who can tell what may happen to England. The exhaustion of her coal mines to a point which will make them commercially unprofitable, cannot be so very distant, and no other repository of available force seems likely to be discovered. One may still echo Dr. ARNOLD's saying,—"Woe be to that generation that is living in England when the coal mines are exhausted, and the national debt not paid off."

WE have at last got so far as to know that the English Ministry have prepared two Land Bills instead of one, as Constitutional usage requires a separate bill for the appropriation of public money

to foster the growth of a peasant proprietorship. This is good, so far as it goes; and the statement that the Irish Land Law of 1870 is to be amended so as to restrain the practice of eviction, shows that the Ministry are prepared to go a good way in modifying the present relations of landlord and tenant, through their amendments to the Law of 1870. But there is no security that even the principles of the law they have drafted will be accepted by the House of Peers, any more than was the bill of last year to restrain evictions. It is true that their rejection of either of the proposed measures might prove a very serious matter for the house of hereditary legislation. It would incline a large part of the English people to listen to the objections brought by the Radicals against the existence of such a house, and might be the starting point of an agitation which would be at least unpleasant. The English peers are a very pleasant set of people; but they would hardly relish a wide-spread discussion of all the nasty things which could be said with truth of themselves and their ancestors. But not only will Mr. GLADSTONE take no part in such an agitation; he will not even make use of the ordinary Constitutional methods by which their resistance to his Irish measures might be overborne. He will not dissolve Parliament and go before the country with his Irish legislation. He has left entirely to the Land League the work of impressing upon the Conservatism of the Lords the need of prompt and vigorous measures of relief; and then he has invoked the assistance of the Lords to punish them in the most arbitrary manner for their agitation. We make this last statement deliberately. When the Coercion Bill was before Parliament, Mr. FORSTER gave assurance that it was not to be used to stop the Land League from agitation on lawful lines, but only, or chiefly, to put an end to the terrorism then exercised by village tyrants. But the selections made of persons to be arrested, show that it is just at legitimate agitation that the law is aimed. Some of the men now in jail may be such as answer to Mr. FORSTER's description; others are men of a very different character,—persons of substance, orderly lives and good repute, who have never been accused of anything but giving the weight of their names to the Land League. But nobody in Ireland expects such promises to be kept. They have learned better.

WHILE one Irish archbishop loses no opportunity to weaken the loyalty of the people to the Land League, another steps forward to say that if the leaders of the League are arrested, the bishops and priests of Ireland will take their places at the post of danger. Whereupon, an English nobleman, a member of Mr. GLADSTONE'S Ministry, rises in his place in Parliament to say that in that case the Government will procure from the Pope the deposition of the whole Irish hierarchy. In order to appreciate this, it is necessary to remember that England has no diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and that, by the laws of England, it is a criminal offence for an English statesman to have any intercourse with the Pope and his officials. The threat also showed his lordship's complete ignorance of the constitution of the Catholic Church. It is true that the Roman *Curia* has supreme jurisdiction over the hierarchy of national Catholic Churches; but that jurisdiction cannot be exercised arbitrarily. Some Catholic must carry the appeal to Rome, and there must be a trial within the forms prescribed by canon law. Even infallibility does not think of such summary processes as are specified by the Law for the Protection of Life and Property by the suppression of personal liberty in Ireland.

OUR record of events at home and abroad closes with the week ending April 6th:—

The taking of the census in Canada was begun on the 4th.

The public debt statement for March shows a decrease of \$6,192,819.

The total number of hogs packed in Cincinnati during the year ending March 1st was 12,243,354, an increase of 1,241,655 over that of the preceding year.

The State Department is informed that 4,000 emigrants left Bremen, on March 30, for the United States, making over 20,000 from that port during the first quarter of this year.

The body of Colonel I. N. Ross, formerly a State Senator of Ohio, and Colonel of the Nineteenth Ohio Volunteers during the war, was burned in the crematory at Washington, Pa., March 31st. It is the twelfth corpse cremated in that place.

The Governor of Tennessee has signed the bill for the funding of the debt of that State at par, at three per cent. interest. The Tennessee Legislature has passed a bill to settle the debt of the extinct municipality of Memphis at 33½ cents and interest at four per cent.

A convention of State officers, United States Senators, Congressmen, and other prominent men of the Northwest, will be called to meet in Davenport, Iowa, on May 25th, to appeal "to Congress for a speedy extension of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to the Mississippi River, by way of Hennepin, for the purpose of opening an all-water route from the upper Mississippi to Chicago, the lakes and the Erie Canal." Secretary WINDOM has promised to attend the convention, if possible.

A company consisting of HAMILTON DISSTON, Wm. C. PARSONS, Wm. L. ELKINS, JOHN L. HILL, Wm. S. STOKLEY, and others, has been chartered by the Legislature of Florida to construct a ship canal across that State. The route will be from the Gulf, via the Caloosahatchee River and Lake Okeechobee, to the Atlantic Ocean, at or near the mouth of the Lucie River, and the capital is fixed at \$30,000,000. This is substantially the company having the contract to drain Lake Okeechobee. The advanced surveying party left Jacksonville for the Everglades on the 6th.

England has declined to attend the Monetary Conference.

The Spanish Cabinet has decided to apply the Spanish Constitution and press laws to Cuba and Porto Rico.

It is officially announced that the marriage of the Crown Prince RUDOLPH and the Princess STEPHANIE of Belgium is fixed for May 10.

It is reported that the Dominion Government handed over to the syndicate the Pembina branch and completed portions of the Canadian Pacific Railroad on the 31st ult.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Standard* says that the despatch of foreign newspapers to Russia has been limited to persons specially privileged and provided with police permits.

The *Journal de St. Petersburg*, replying to the remarks of the foreign press on the refugee question, says the only thing desired is to prevent cold blooded plotting of assassination by measures which no State would refuse, if the protection simply of private persons were concerned.

The exhibition at Matanzas, Cuba, was opened by Captain General BLANCO, on the 3d. Everything is incomplete, there being few exhibits yet in place, and it is rumored that, on account of the lateness of the season, the exhibition will be closed in two months, and reopened next winter. The United States are fairly represented in hardware, machinery and agricultural products.

In the Italian Chamber of Deputies, on the 2d, Signor MAGLIANI, Minister of Finance, in making the budget statement, said the budget of 1881 showed a surplus of fifteen million lire (about \$3,000,000). Italy would take part in the Monetary Conference, and he hoped arrangements would be agreed to which would obtain for silver the widest possible market on the same terms as gold.

At an extraordinary meeting of the Slavophil Society, at St. Petersburg, on the 4th, M. AKSAKOFF, editor of the *Moscow Russ*, maintained that the country did not require a Constitution, on account of the intimate connection between the monarch and the people, which did not exist in Western Europe. Prince IMERITINSKI and Attorney-General POBEDOUOSSTSEFF were present and drew up an address to the Emperor, which was numerously signed.

#### SOME RESULTS FROM THE CENSUS.

##### III.

REAT credit is due the Superintendent of the Tenth Census for his efforts to place before the country what may be truthfully considered the first reliable and satisfactory exhibit of the financial condition of the States, counties, cities, towns, villages, townships and school-districts of the United States. The first attempt to collect this class of statistics for the entire country, was made by General WALKER in 1870; but, owing to the defects in the old census law, the work

was not considered by the Superintendent himself at all satisfactory. For the last twenty years, efforts have been made in England, in France, in Prussia, and in some other large countries, to collect data relating to the administration of local affairs, but without complete success, owing to the great difficulty in compelling the vast number of local authorities dealing in different rates, and often with overlapping jurisdictions, to fill up the forms on the same principle, however minute the directions given might be. In England, there are 14,880 parishes, separately raising poor taxes; 220 town councils; 648 poor law unions; 379 highway divisions; 305 highway districts; 700 local boards under the public health act; 280 parishes under lighting and watching act; 350 burial boards; sundry other vestries and areas for local taxation, amounting in all to 18,032. The care necessary in abstracting the accounts of these distinct kinds of local authorities, all of which are differently constituted,—hardly any two for the same periods of accounts, and many of them levying separate rates,—can hardly be over-estimated. The work is even more complicated in the United States, where we have nearly 7,400 municipal organizations, nearly 12,000 townships in the States having township organization, a large number of these townships having a financial existence; and the Census Office has been obliged to secure reports from each one. The magnitude of this branch of the census work alone, when the immense area of the country is taken into consideration, can be better understood when these facts are made known.

The work has so far progressed that a summary of the debts of 300 cities of the country has been completed. The statistics relate to the three hundred cities and towns having over 7,500 inhabitants each. The table given below shows that a little over 11,250,000 of the population, or about 22½ per cent., have a total bonded debt of \$664,000,000. The annual interest on this is, in round numbers, \$41,000,000. It must be borne in mind that beyond these 300 cities there are about 7,100 incorporated towns and villages, varying in size from 100 to 200 population to towns of 6,000 and 7,000, all to be included in the census report. There are 105,190 school-districts, with their debts of a few dollars, which, when aggregated, reach into millions.

Besides these are the county debts, which, in 1870, amounted to \$187,565,540. Then come the State debts, aggregating, in June, 1880, \$250,732,081. Estimating the total debt of the small cities, towns and villages, and school-districts, of the country at \$100,000,000, the county debts at \$200,000,000, the State debts at \$250,000,000, and the city and town debts at \$664,000,000, we have a total local indebtedness of \$1,214,000,000. The distribution of the city and State debts is one of the interesting features of the table. It will be seen that the danger in the Southern States has always been the State and not the city indebtedness :

States.	City debt.	State debt.
New England, . . . . .	\$113,163,183	\$49,979,514
Middle, . . . . .	377,468,232	45,672,575
Southern, . . . . .	59,964,171	113,967,243
Western, . . . . .	113,751,327	41,112,749
Total, . . . . .	\$664,346,913	\$250,732,081

The table given below shows the distribution according to sections of the bonded debt of 300 cities having a population over 7,500 :

Divisions.	No. of cities and towns.	Population.	Total bonded debt.	Per capita.
Eastern States, . . . . .	75	1,819,791	\$113,163,183	\$62.18
Middle States, . . . . .	72	4,933,622	377,468,232	76.51
Southern States, . . . . .	38	1,073,468	59,964,171	55.56
Western States, . . . . .	115	3,523,891	113,751,327	32.28
Totals, . . . . .	300	11,350,772	\$664,346,913	\$58.53

The following table shows the annual interest on this debt at the various rates specified :

	Rates.	Amounts.	Interests.
10 per cent, . . . . .		\$6,169,623	\$616,962.30
9 per cent, . . . . .		11,000	990.00
8 per cent, . . . . .		18,864,007	1,434,480.56
7½ per cent, . . . . .		356,500	96,712.50
7⅓ per cent, . . . . .		16,385,550	1,296,145.15
7 per cent, . . . . .		188,265,829	13,178,608.02
6½ per cent, . . . . .		1,551,104	100,821.76
6 per cent, . . . . .		304,206,158	18,253,369.48
5½ per cent, . . . . .		515,000	19,498.00
5 per cent, . . . . .		98,042,017	4,998,550.85
4½ per cent, . . . . .		4,688,150	210,966.75
4 per cent, . . . . .		21,458,835	858,353.40
3 per cent, . . . . .		983,100	29,493.00
Unspecified, . . . . .		2,250,040	—
Total, . . . . .		\$664,346,913	\$41,033,951.77

Of the \$113,163,183 outstanding debt of the seventy-five New England cities, \$7,615,166 bears interest at 7 per cent.; \$1,444,234 at 6½ per cent.; \$60,909,517 at 6 per cent.; \$346,500 at 5½ per cent.; \$33,403,116 at 5 per cent.; \$4,356,650 at 4½ per cent., and \$5,088,000 at 4 per cent.

Of the \$377,486,232 outstanding debt of the seventy-two cities of the Middle States, \$31,150 pays interest at 10 per cent.; \$333,143 at 8 per cent.; \$210,500 at 7 3-10 per cent.; \$132,911,431 at 7 per cent.; \$105,870 at 6½ per cent.; \$179,624,593 at 6 per cent.; \$38,500 at 5½ per cent.; \$49,593,610 at 5 per cent.; \$331,500 at 4½ per cent.; \$12,795,935 at 4 per cent., and \$1,492,000, rate of interest unspecified.

Of the \$59,694,171 outstanding debt of the thirty-eight cities of Southern States, \$1,614,531 bears interest at 10 per cent.; \$6,985,851 at 8 per cent.; \$256,500 at 7½ per cent.; \$1,281,550 at 7 3-10 per cent.; \$10,045,150 at 7 per cent.; \$20,596,192 at 6 per cent.; \$14,127,357 at 5 per cent.; \$3,315,900 at 4 per cent.; \$983,100 at 3 per cent., and \$758,040, rate of interest unspecified.

Of the \$113,751,327 owing by the 115 cities of the Western States, \$4,523,942 bears interest at 10 per cent., inclusive of \$112,000 paying 12 per cent.; \$11,000 at 9 per cent.; \$11,545,013 at 8 per cent.; \$100,000 at 7½ per cent., \$14,893,500 at 7 3-10 per cent.; \$37,694,082 at 7 per cent.; \$1,000 at 6½ per cent.; \$43,075,856 at 6 per cent.; \$130,000 at 5½ per cent.; \$1,517,934 at 5 per cent., and \$259,000 at 4 per cent.

Another bulletin issued from the Division of Wealth, Debt and Taxation presents a statement of the bonded debt, of the receipts and expenditures of the cities and towns of 7,500 population and upward, of the State of Massachusetts. The following table shows the total bonded, floating, gross and net debts of the State, counties, cities and towns of Massachusetts. It also gives the amount of the sinking fund, and shows the per capita of the debt of the four divisions above referred to :

	Bonded Debt.	Floating Debt.	Gross Debt.
State, . . . . .	\$33,020,464	\$ 14,262	\$33,034,726
Counties, . . . . .	125,000	1,229,670	1,354,670
Cities, . . . . .	69,075,202	1,891,100	70,966,302
Towns, . . . . .	7,713,282	8,553,265	16,266,547
Totals, . . . . .	\$109,933,948	\$11,688,297	\$121,622,245

	Net Debt.	Per Capita.	Sinking Funds.	Population.
State . . . . .	\$20,159,478	\$11.30	\$12,875,248	1,783,086
Counties, . . . . .	1,281,929	.72	72,741	—
Cities, . . . . .	54,036,136	58.86	16,930,166	917,911
Towns, . . . . .	15,681,529	18.12	585,018	865,175
Totals, . . . . .	\$91,159,072	\$51.12	\$30,463,173	1,783,086

The sinking funds of the State, of the counties, of the cities, and of the towns, amount in the aggregate to \$30,463,173, and this, deducted from the gross debt of \$121,622,245, leaves a net debt of \$91,159,072, or \$51.12 per capita of the population of the State. The cities of the State have a population of 917,911, a net debt of \$54,036,136, and a per capita of \$58.86. The towns of the State, with a population of 865,175, have a net debt of \$15,681,529, or a per capita of \$18.12, being \$40.24 less to the individual than the city debt.

To each of these amounts must be added \$12.02, the per capita of the State and county debt, and the whole may be expressed as follows:

Debt per capita of cities, . . . . .	\$70.88
Debt per capita of towns, . . . . .	30.14

It is interesting to note for what purposes these debts were contracted. The enumerated items have been carefully noted by the census, and an interesting summary is presented below:

	Bonded Debt.
Bridges, . . . . .	\$1,233,817
Fire department, . . . . .	148,971
Funded floating debt, . . . . .	6,048,394
Improvement harbors and rivers, . . . . .	1,295,000
Parks and public places, . . . . .	852,000
Public buildings, . . . . .	6,392,281
Railroad and other aid, . . . . .	19,255,729
Refunded old debt, . . . . .	4,557,841
Schools and libraries, . . . . .	2,536,318
Sewers, . . . . .	4,139,847
Streets, . . . . .	13,957,107
Unspecified, . . . . .	6,987,931
Water-works, . . . . .	29,667,724
War expenses, . . . . .	12,860,788
Totals, . . . . .	\$109,933,948

Here it is seen that \$29,667,724, or more than one-fourth of the whole amount, has been expended for water-works; but this is a good investment, as another table shows that the cities and towns of Massachusetts receive an annual rental from water-works of \$2,426,348. The next largest item is that of railroad aid; but of this, the greater part may be traced to the State, and will, in time, become a valuable investment. The next most important item is the streets, which aggregate \$13,957,107. The third item is the war expenses,—\$12,860,788. Upwards of \$6,300,000 have been expended for public buildings, and for schools and libraries \$2,536,318.

The dates at which this debt was contracted, and those at which it matures, are presented with great exactness in the following table, going back twenty years, and forward to the close of the century.

Issue.	Maturity.
Previous to	
1860, . . . . .	\$5,795,417
1860, . . . . .	1,022,218
1861, . . . . .	4,053,290
1862, . . . . .	2,209,500
1863, . . . . .	2,472,000
1864, . . . . .	10,426,744
1865, . . . . .	3,076,380
1866, . . . . .	808,100
1867, . . . . .	1,611,500
1868, . . . . .	5,219,607
1869, . . . . .	7,508,468
1870, . . . . .	4,174,200
1871, . . . . .	6,245,700
1872, . . . . .	9,418,474
1873, . . . . .	11,185,604
1874, . . . . .	8,867,841
1875, . . . . .	8,304,980
1876, . . . . .	6,952,760
1877, . . . . .	5,640,400
1878, . . . . .	2,432,100
1879, . . . . .	1,760,550
1880, . . . . .	969,115
Unspecified, . . . . .	679,000
	After 1900,
	\$109,933,948
	\$109,933,948

The financial history of the country can be traced in the table showing the date of issue of these bonds. An era of extravagance was ushered in at the close of the war, and the annual increase of the State and local bonded debt rose, in one year, from less than \$2,500,000 to nearly \$10,500,000. In 1869, with business active, an increase of \$7,500,000 is shown. This was also a period of extravagance in the management of cities, and, beginning with an annual increase, in 1869, of \$2,907,500, it steadily rose to \$3,793,000 in 1870, to \$5,596,700 in 1871, to \$7,989,774 in 1872, and reached to \$10,572,104 in 1873, when the panic came, and improvements and expenditures were suspended for a time.

There is a gradual decline, until, in 1879, the amount issued is

only \$1,679,500. The greater part of this debt is not due until 1892 and 1894, and over \$14,000,000 of it does not mature until the next century.

A preliminary exhibit has since been issued, of the debt and taxation of the State of New York, which is unquestionably the most accurate of the kind ever made. Every figure has been verified by the Census Office time and again. So much care has been taken with the statistics of New York, expressly to meet criticism, and to answer every possible inquiry that might be suggested by intelligent investigation. The local taxes of the State have been tabulated up to December 31st, 1880. The following is a summary of the assessed value of property, of the taxation, and of the indebtedness, of the counties, cities, villages, towns and townships of the State of New York:

	Valuation.
Real Estate, . . . . .	\$2,326,669,813
Personal Property, . . . . .	352,469,320
Total, . . . . .	\$2,679,139,133

	Taxation.
State, General, . . . . .	\$4,949,600.18
State, School, . . . . .	2,945,199.55
	\$7,894,799.73
County, . . . . .	6,204,517.24
Cities of over 7,500 population, . . . . .	29,262,203.47
Cities and Villages of less than 7,500, . . . . .	843,238.54
Towns or Townships, . . . . .	4,722,648.21
Total, . . . . .	\$48,927,407.19
Deduct State School Tax, . . . . .	2,945,199.55
	\$45,982,207.64

	Indebtedness.
County Bonded Debt, . . . . .	\$11,601,675.09
County Floating Debt, . . . . .	786,634.71
	\$12,388,309.80
City Bonded Debt, . . . . .	208,787,710.33
City Floating Debt, . . . . .	7,075,868.59
	215,863,578.92
Village Bonded Debt, . . . . .	1,781,950.05
Village Floating Debt, . . . . .	29,771.55
	1,811,722.50
Town Bonded Debt, . . . . .	18,601,930.93
Town Floating Debt, . . . . .	100,576.72
	18,702,507.65
Total Debt, . . . . .	\$248,766,118.87

The above statement does not include school-district debt, or school-district taxation.

About 14,000 schedules have been sent to the trustees of the different school-districts of the State, and over 10,000 have reported to the Census Office. When these returns are tabulated, the statement will be complete. A more thorough analysis, similar to the one already published of Massachusetts, will be made of the cities of over 7,500 inhabitants.

When the work on New York State is completed, it will show the bonded and floating debt of every subdivision of the State, the purposes for which this debt was contracted, the interest it bears, the date of issue and the date of maturity. There will also be shown, separately, the amount of county, city, village and town (or rather township,) taxation, with their respective rates. In this report will be given the receipts from different sources, whether from taxation, liquor licenses, water rates or any other sources. In the same way will be analyzed the expenditures of the different divisions of the State. In short, the work is being done rapidly and thoroughly. A sufficient number of returns have been received to insure an absolutely correct report for the entire country of all classes of local indebtedness. The material in relation to taxation is equally satisfactory. The most perplexing part of the inquiry seems to be the receipts and expenditures, which, owing to the different methods of book-keeping,—hardly any two subdivisions keeping their accounts alike,—makes it no easy task to unravel and make plain, especially with that delusive element of finance, the sinking fund, with its intricacies constantly cropping out to complicate and confuse.

## PUBLIC OPINION.

## THE OBSTRUCTION OF BUSINESS IN THE SENATE.

THE obstruction of business in the United States Senate is regarded by the critics of the press in many lights. Some of the Democratic newspapers are pleased, apparently, at the turn that affairs have taken, while others, which advocate the same party principles, but which do not always defend party methods, look upon the quarrel with evident displeasure. The Republican journals appear to be still more divided. The point most commonly made by a large number of the latter is expressed by the *Hartford Courant*, when it says: "Whether the last caucus of Republican Senators reached a wise determination or not, is for the result to decide; but the wisdom of refusing to hold executive sessions is not apparent at this distance." The *New York Times*, which dwells upon the same phase of the question at issue, asks: "What reason is there why the Republican Senators should refuse to go on with the business of the session, because they cannot select their clerk and sergeant-at-arms, and the petty servants who wait on them in various ways?" "It may be said," continues that paper, "that the Democrats have no very clear right to prevent the election of officers by dilatory motions; but they have the power and they choose to use it." The *Newport (R. I.) News* (Republican,) thinks that the present controversy is entirely unjustifiable, and adds: "The President called the Senate together to transact certain executive business that should be attended to at this time. Instead of discharging the duties devolving upon them, the Republicans have entered upon a crusade against a few office-holders for the sole and avowed purpose of securing places for a half dozen or more politicians of their own faith. This might be well enough if they would, at the same time, attend to the public business for which they are called together." Directing attention to the importance of filling the vacancy in the Supreme Court, the *Rochester (N. Y.) Express* says: "Not only is it desirable that the Senate shall speedily act in the matter of the judgeship, but the Administration ought to be allowed to begin its work with every advantage that can be deemed essential to the easy and harmonious working of every department of the Government. The Republican party has the highest confidence in General Garfield, believing that he possesses high administrative capacity, well-trained judgment, and knowledge of men and affairs, as well as a native sagacity which would render him potential as a peacemaker." Several of the Republican papers, notably the *New York Evening Post*, the *New York Evening Mail*, and the *Chicago Tribune*, attribute the prolongation of the struggle to Mr. Conkling's desire to prevent action upon Judge Robertson's nomination. The *Evening Post* says: "The end to be gained is so trivial, and the debate going on is so 'stale, flat and unprofitable,' that we naturally look for some reason for this conclusion, other than appears on the face of things. It may as well be understood that the coercion of the President is what is involved." At the same time there is marked difference of opinion as to the value of the debates. While many of the newspapers contend that the Senate is simply wasting time, others profess to see beyond the matter of offices and nominations, and they declare that the contest is in furtherance of the public weal. "For the most part," says the *Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle*, "there has been but a dreary patter of words, varied occasionally by a vehemence of expression, on both sides, quite as simulated as real. When men are speaking against time, there must be at least the show of earnestness; but few of the speeches of the session have risen above the level of mediocrity, as, indeed, they could not well do so, when they were manufactured solely because some sort of speeches had to be manufactured. The debate has proceeded upon the theory,—alike upon both sides,—that a partisan advantage could be gained on the one side by tiring the other side out,—a simple question of endurance. Thus far, the country has submitted patiently to the vagaries of the Senatorial debating society; but mutterings begin to be heard, especially from clear-headed Republicans, over the waste of time and the postponement of the public business thus occasioned." On the other hand, the *Providence (R. I.) Journal* asserts that "the whole aspect of the debate is of a larger character. The Southern question has been opened up in its entirety, not alone as to what it has been, but, further, as to what it is now. The interrogatory addressed to the people is: 'What is the prospect of a Solid South in favor of and obedient to the fundamental law?'" But a number of the leading papers of both parties take such papers as the

Providence *Journal* to task for keeping up what is called, "an unnecessary and dangerous agitation." The *Springfield Republican* uses strong language in discussing the subject, alluding to certain Senators as "wanton and criminal resurrectionists, who linger in the grave-yards of the past." In like manner, the deadlock is condemned by the *Denver Tribune* on the ground that "we are having too much politics." While the *Tribune* accuses "the Democratic Senators of holding on to the old hulk of power after it is covered by the waves," and roundly berates them, it asks the leaders of its party to "keep politics down and attend to business." "In brief," concludes the *Tribune*, "the people have had quite enough of political wrangle during the last year, and would be vastly obliged to the ambitious gentlemen at Washington if they would, for the next year or two, discharge the simple duties of legislation, and give the people a rest." One of the Democratic newspapers,—the *Baltimore Sun*,—says:—"In such sessions as the present, the Senate is intended to be merely an executive branch of the Government. It cannot legislate nor originate legislation. In the present session, the action has been limited and narrow, the talk discursive, irritating and unnecessary. The debates are injurious in every respect, and especially detrimental to those honest and successful efforts of the people in every section to restore peace, good feeling and genuine fellowship to every portion of the country. They bear about the same relation to true politics and genuine statesmanship which 'sensational preaching' bears to true religion." Another Democratic journal,—the *Galveston News*,—fears that the "deadlock" will injure the business of the country. "Let the business conservatism and the general intelligence of the country," says the *News*, "come to look with disgust upon Congress, regarding that body as a national nuisance, and the time will be ripe for the surrender of all the functions of the Government to the keeping of a Bismarck or an Alexander." The *Detroit Post and Tribune* claims that "neither the Republican party nor the country" will be injured by the "present temporary difficulties."

## PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S FIRST MONTH.

A favorite newspaper topic during the last few days has been "the first month of the new Administration." The *New York Sun*, after criticising the removal of General Merritt from the office of Collector of the Port of New York, and some of the movements of Secretary Winder, says that the President is still entitled to an abatement of partisan opposition. But uncompromising Democratic journals, such as the *New York Star* and the *Portland (Me.) Argus*, claim that "during the month the President has hopelessly divided the Republican party in important States; split up his Cabinet into hostile cliques; incurred the open hostility of the Stalwart leaders, and brought the Senate to a deadlock." This arraignment is regarded by the *Buffalo Express* as "absurd, because any close observer can see that Mr. Garfield has aimed constantly to placate, rather than antagonize, the factions." The *Elmira (N. Y.) Gazette*,—a Democratic paper,—says: "It must be admitted that no Republican President could have done better, and he might have done infinitely worse. The fault does not lie with Garfield, but with the party he represents." Going further than the *Gazette*, the *Vicksburg (Miss.) Herald* declares that "the President has not only tried to act fairly, but the progressive men of this section are not in favor of opposition to any President, Republican or Democratic, who purposed to do the fair thing." The *Wilmington (N. C.) Star* says: "It must be admitted by the warmest friends of President Garfield that he is environed by difficulties, but no partisan will deny that he is a man of very superior abilities. We prefer to see him triumphant over the implacables." Of Republican newspapers in which reviews of the month are made, the *Trenton State Gazette* contents itself with the remark that "the new Administration starts off well, with a reduction of over six millions in the national debt;" and the *New Haven (Conn.) Palladium* concludes that "the Administration is doing just what the Republicans of the country want it to do." The *Albany (N. Y.) Journal* sustains the President "in every act of consequence since the fourth of March;" and the *Cincinnati Commercial* says: "President Garfield has done all that is reasonable in him to conciliate the leaders of his party and prevent division. Now let him remember that he is President of the United States, and see to it that his appointments are treated with that consideration due to them, and the first year, like the first month of his Presidency, will end well."

## THE SOUTH.

## A SYMPOSIUM.

IN THE AMERICAN for February 5, we published the first instalment of a series of letters from Southern men in review of the Southern political situation, with reference to national affairs. These letters were elicited by questions in writing, with the sole object of bringing about a better understanding between North and South, to the end that national unity may be promoted through the obliteration of sectional lines. We close the discussion of Mississippi with the letter of Mr. WALTHALL.

## MISSISSIPPI.

(Continued from THE AMERICAN of April 2d.)

## MR. W. T. WALTHALL.

MR. W. T. WALTHALL is a Southerner who is well known in all parts of the South, and is by no means a stranger to the men of the North. He is a native of Virginia, and for many years, both before and since the war, has been actively engaged in journalism, chiefly in Mobile. He served in the Confederate army throughout the contest, first as lieutenant and captain of infantry, and afterwards as Assistant Adjutant-General, with the rank of Major. He began life as a State's Rights Whig, but united with the Democrats when the Whig party was merged in the Know-Nothing organization. He has never abandoned his advocacy of State's Rights, which he believes to be the fundamental doctrine of American politics. He is the author of several published addresses and orations, of a number of articles in the *American Encyclopædia*, and of contributions on a variety of subjects to reviews and magazines. He has never had any public office, except that of Superintendent of Education, and has never been a candidate. He has always been very active in promoting measures to check yellow fever whenever it has appeared, and has been presented with two gold medals for his services in this regard. He is an intimate friend of Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS, and has rendered Mr. DAVIS much valuable assistance in the preparation of the first volume of his forthcoming work.

LOTOS, BOUVIER P. O., HARRISON CO., MISS., January 25th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: Other engagements and illness have concurred to hinder the earlier reply to your letter of the 18th ult., which the interest of its subject and the courtesy of its terms would alike have prompted.

Before attempting to answer *seriatim* the questions, just pardon me the expression of some doubt or dissent as to the ground on which they are based and the purpose proposed as their object, viz., "to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity, known as the 'Solid South.'"

I confess myself utterly unable to appreciate the force of the objections to a "Solid South," as such, either on grounds of fact or of principle. As regards a clearly defined political issue, there are but three possible alternatives for the people of the Southern as well as for those of the Northern States. They may be right; they may be wrong; or they may be partly right and partly wrong. If right, the more *solidly* right the better; it would scarcely be commendable to change from right to wrong for the sake of a dissolution of unanimity and the creation of division. If wrong, a change to the right would, unquestionably, be desirable—not because they are "solid," but because they are wrong; indeed, they ought to be solid on the other side. The only ground on which an objection to solidity, as such, can be tenable, would be the assumption that it is better for a people to be divided—part in the right and part in the wrong—than to be either wholly wrong—which may be true,—or wholly right—which is absurd.

I am well aware of the dangers and evils—irrespective of any considerations of abstract right or truth—of *sectional* divisions in politics, and presume that a vague and undefined sense of this is the basis of the cavils against solidity; but it is not so easy to perceive why *Southern* solidity should be the exclusive, or even the primary, object of dread or depreciation.

"The South" is presumed to mean the States (sixteen in number, including West Virginia,) in which slavery had legal existence immediately before the late war. These States cast 138 Electoral votes, all of which were given, in the late Presidential contest, to the Democratic candidates. Considering "The North" as including all the other twenty-two States, their Electoral strength amounts to 231 votes, of which all but fifteen were cast for the Republican ticket; and of these exceptional fifteen, six were from California, on the remote Pacific, and but little, if at all, more nearly identified with the North proper than with the South. There is, therefore, but little difference perceptible between the two sections as to party solidity. The two hundred and sixteen "solid" votes of the North certainly present a more aggressive and more formidable aspect on the one side, than the one hundred and fifty-three votes of the South, in combination with New Jersey and California, on the other.

If there was, in the attitude of the South, or the principles on which she is supposed to be united, anything threatening the safety or welfare of the North, or the country in general, the ground for apprehension might be intelligible. But I presume no intelligent and candid person, of whatever political views, would claim that there

is, or has been for some years past, any purpose of aggression, on the part of the South, with regard to the rights or interests of any other part of the Union.

We have, it is true, heard much of alleged peril to "the results of the war." If I rightly apprehend what are claimed as the results of the war, they are all readily reducible to two: (1) the abolition of African slavery, and (2) the establishment of the paramount authority of the central Government, and the abrogation of State Sovereignty, with its direct corollary, the right of secession. With regard to slavery, only the densest and most ignorant fanaticism could imagine that the idea of its revival in any shape now exists in the South. Many of us (among whom is the writer of this letter) were in principle always opposed to it. Others thought differently, and approved of it as an existing institution; but, now that it has been abolished, no sane man would have it re-established, even if it were practicable.

As to State Sovereignty, if it has not been effectually extinguished beyond all hope of reassertion or resuscitation, the fault is certainly not that of the South. During the process of what was termed reconstruction, in the years immediately following the war, the majority of the Southern States were merely passive spectators, without representation or participation in the government of the Union. That government was entirely in the hands of the North, and the North was controlled by the Republican party. If the Constitution was not so amended as to secure the principle of Centralization, and to preclude any future assertion of the sovereignty of the State, it was not on account of Southern opposition or recalcitrance. The South was altogether powerless to resist what was done during that period by the dominant section, under control of the dominant party, even if she had been so disposed; and certainly no disposition to *undo* it has been manifested since.

But if,—whether purposely or from neglect or indifference,—the old controversy between State's Rights and Centralism has been left still unsettled, it is now certainly not a *sectional* controversy. It was such in 1830 only from its association with the tariff question, and in 1860 with that of slavery in the Territories. These were sectional questions; but the former has long ceased to be operative, as such, and the latter has become utterly extinct. The South has no more interest in the maintenance of State's Rights than the North; and if there is any likelihood of a future claim of the right of secession, there is less reason to look for it in the South than in New England (where it was first asserted), or on the distant shores of the Pacific.

The clamor against the "Solid South" is therefore alike unwarranted by any spirit of sectional aggression, or by any peril to the legitimate "results of the war." Its potency as a partisan war-cry is undeniable—the more unreasonable, the more potent, perhaps. Its appeal is not to reason, but to the unreasoning passions of the multitude—especially to two passions, which are always powerful when combined—fear, and sectional and sectarian animosity. In respect of substantial merit or dignity, it stands, as seems to me, upon a level with the cry of "Well-Poisoners!" which animated certain mediaeval persecutions of the Jews, or that of "No Popery!" in the George Gordon riots in London, a hundred years ago.

These remarks have seemed necessary as a basis for the answer to your queries, which I shall now endeavor to make as briefly as possible. In doing this, it may be proper to premise that my residence and opportunities for observation since the war have been chiefly in Alabama, but more recently in Mississippi. The social and political conditions in these two States, however, are so nearly the same, that any correct statement as to either is in general applicable to both.

1. You ask: "Has the 'carpet-bag' influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way, as regards educational, political, social, and commercial prosperity?"

With a correct understanding of the phrase, "carpet-bag influence," the question would be superfluous. The term "carpet-bagger," as used in the South, has never been applied to the honest and friendly immigrant from another section, (of whatever political opinion,) coming in the prosecution of any of the legitimate pursuits of industry, in quest of health or fortune, or even in the hope of obtaining public office or employment by fair and honorable means. A remarkable misconception on this point seems still to prevail in the North,—as was illustrated in a public speech made quite recently by one of the most distinguished men in the country. It is absurd to speak of such men as Clay, or Jackson, or Prentiss, or Quitman, as "carpet-baggers." The term properly applies only to the swarm of adventurers who flocked into the South at the period of "reconstruction," for the sole purpose of securing public office—not by the ordinary and legitimate methods of identifying themselves with the interests and securing the confidence of the people, but partly through Federal patronage, and partly by taking advantage of the large disenfranchisement and general proscription of the white race,—which certainly comprised all, or nearly all, the intelligence, education and property of Southern communities,—and by appeals to the passions and prejudices of the newly-emancipated and ignorant blacks. It was impossible that influence obtained solely by such means could be helpful, or other than hurtful, to the general welfare. Its object was not the prosperity of the people, but the enrichment of the officials, and its tenure depended upon the cultivation and maintenance of the animosities and jealousies and extravagant illusions of the inferior race. Treasures were plundered; public revenues wasted; official venality walked hand in hand with official rapacity; and profligacy, idleness and vagrancy were fostered and encouraged among the freedmen. Such were some of the modes in which the mischiefs of the "carpet-bag" regime were manifested. To enumerate them *all* would be tedious and unnecessary.

2. "How far has this carpet-bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

This query—if you will pardon the suggestion—seems to imply some misapprehension. The least extensive and least hurtful operation of "carpet-bag influence" has been that exercised through the medium of Federal offices. Its largest and most mischievous field has been that afforded by the State Governments, which, for some years,

were under the control of the carpet-baggers—a control obtained by the means above referred to. To say that their influence was fostered by State legislation, therefore, is only to say that they wielded and directed such legislation in their own interest. Public opinion—the only public opinion, that is, possessed of any weight as representative of intelligence and character—has always not only opposed, but execrated them.

3. "Have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the carpet-baggers?"

I confess myself at a loss how to answer this question, and, perhaps, do not understand it. The obligation of honesty is not understood to be dependent upon circumstances or contingencies. The misdeeds of the carpet-baggers were not perpetrated under duress, nor is there any reason to suppose that their temptations were greater than those of other men. Their *opportunities* were certainly great, but, as these were in the main of their own contrivance, they can hardly be held to mitigate the turpitude of the wrong-doing.

4. "Is the carpet-bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?"

Carpet-baggy has become almost extinct in the South (certainly in Alabama and Mississippi), except as regards its limited and comparatively innocuous survival in certain Federal offices. This has been effected by the restoration of the franchise to the large classes of citizens formerly disfranchised, the earnest efforts of the people in general, and the co-operation of great numbers of the colored voters, formerly under the control of the carpet-baggers, but now acting in union with the whites. Since the late Presidential election, there have been indications of an effort for the restoration of the former *regime*, but it is hardly possible that this can be accomplished, or, at the utmost, that its revival in any quarter can ever be other than local and exceptional.

5. "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, [a hindrance?] what is the remedy?"

My information as to conditions existing in the North is too limited to justify any answer to this question, further than to say that it would be ungracious to charge those who have hitherto been our only friends and allies there in any degree, with impeding our prosperity; and I know no reason to do so.

6. "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

I am not aware of the existence of any negro party among us. None such is known or recognized in our politics. The negroes vote, at their option, with either of the great political parties, and in point of fact are divided between them.

7. "Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

The principles and objects of the new parties must be defined before an intelligent answer can be given. A political party must have, or ought to have, a *raison d'être* in the convictions of its members as to certain principles, or as to the application of principles to questions arising in the course of public events. If the people are generally agreed as to these, there is no occasion for parties. Such was actually the case at one period of our history—that of the second term of Mr. Monroe's Administration—when the whole country was "solid," and no complaint was made of it, nor did any harm ensue. When differences arise, parties are formed—not arbitrarily, nor for the sake of divisions—not as disputants are divided in debating societies or players in a game of base ball, but as the natural outgrowth of a diversity of convictions. These convictions are, no doubt, much influenced by men's conflicting interests and passions and prejudices; but yet the theoretical basis—the only actual basis on which a party can be constituted, to possess any moral force or vitality—is still conviction and principle, whether right or wrong. I cannot understand, therefore, the proposition to create new parties merely for the purpose of dividing or destroying the old ones. It is not only illogical, but impracticable.

I do not believe that the white people of the South are influenced by any blind or superstitious attachment to existing party organizations. Agreement in general principles and the interest of self-defence have hitherto united them in adherence to the Democratic party; but in case new issues should lead to the formation of new parties, it is presumable that they would conform to the change of circumstances. If the meaning of the inquiry is to ask whether they would *divide* among new parties, it is impossible to answer it without any knowledge of the issues on which the new are to be organized. There are questions,—those relating to finance and currency, for example,—on which there is great diversity of opinion in the South. Should these become the leading questions at issue, I presume there would be much division among us, and the *bête noir* of Southern solidarity might disappear; but this would result from differences of conviction—not from division for its own sake.

8. "What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

A full answer to this question would cover a vast field. It would require a review of the history of the last sixteen years. I cannot attempt it, but will merely indicate what I conceive to have been the primary and radical error, from which all the others have sprung.

At the close of the war, two lines of policy were open to the North, either of which might have been adopted and prosecuted, at least with consistency. The subjugated States might have been regarded as conquered provinces, and governed as such at the pleasure of the conqueror, avowedly, and without disguise or the pretence of any other theory. No opposition (I think,) would have been made to this,—certainly, no resistance *could* have been made. All that could have been asked would have been that the laws and usages of conquest acknowledged by civilized nations should be applied, and that the personal rights and private property of the vanquished should be respected. The difficulty with regard to this theory was that it would imply an acknowledgment

that the secession of the Southern States had been a *fait accompli*, and that they had actually been "out of the Union,"—a fact which, during the war, the Government of the United States had persistently denied.

The only consistent alternative would have been the immediate recognition of the co-equal rights of the Southern States, their admission to representation in Congress, the withdrawal of all military repression and of the paraphernalia of proconsular and provincial government, and abstention from any intermeddling with their local and internal affairs. If it was really believed that individuals had been guilty of treason, they might have been prosecuted according to law, and the question tested in the courts; but the States, as *States*, should have been left intact, and the masses of their people unmolested and in the enjoyment of all their original and Constitutional rights. There would have been neither difficulty nor danger in the adoption of this policy. The avowed objects of the war on the part of the North had been fully achieved. Slavery had been practically abolished by military force, and was legally, formally and irrevocably abolished immediately after the war by the action of State conventions. The impracticability of secession against the will of a determined majority had been demonstrated. The submission of the defeated was absolute. The policy which has just been indicated would have been not only that prescribed by justice, generosity and magnanimity, but that of a wise and patriotic statesmanship. It would have bound the Union together with cords stronger than steel, and would have given the North a moral weight and influence far beyond that of mere numbers and physical and material power.

But neither of these two plans of reconstruction was adopted and put in execution. On the contrary, the worst features of each were combined,—features which would have been merely necessary evils as parts of a consistent whole, but which, as employed, became unmitigated wrongs. Theoretically, the idea of conquest was disclaimed, and that of an unbroken Union asserted, while, in fact, military occupation was maintained; State officers were replaced by functionaries of Federal appointment; the subjugated States were denied representation in Congress; a supervisory power was exercised over their internal and their local and municipal affairs; large classes of citizens were arbitrarily disfranchised, and, indeed, the suffrage was extended or restricted at the will of the Federal power, without regard to the legitimate authority of the people of the respective States. Even the right to make or amend their own fundamental Constitutions,—the most distinctive attribute of a free community,—was exercised only so far as permitted by the central Government, and under restrictions and limitations enforced by commanders of military districts.

On the other hand, the *forms* of a Constitutional Government were maintained as far as possible—not, it is presumed, as a mere mockery, but with a deliberate and settled purpose. This purpose was, while virtually exercising the powers of conquest,—while prescribing, directing and controlling the action of the conquered,—to give it the semblance of proceeding from their own will, and to invest it with the garb of Constitutional freedom. The case was analogous to the policy pursued by Augustus Caesar and his successors, in retaining the Consuls, the Senate, the Tribunes of the people, and, in general, the forms, offices and processes of the Roman Republic. Concurrent with this was the effort to organize upon the framework of the old State Governments a new constituency, composed chiefly of the negro population, whose ignorance, docility, and supposed hostility to their former masters, might render them facile instruments for securing and perpetuating the ascendancy of the party in power, and for promoting the ambitious purposes of its leaders. This effort achieved a temporary success; hence, the opportunity of the carpet-baggers, and the enormous mischiefs that ensued.

Moreover, while a few obscure and unfortunate individuals were sacrificed on other charges by the action of military tribunals, (after peace had been fully established,) the great question of TREASON was never brought to a judicial test. This was certainly not from "clemency," as is now absurdly alleged. The proper time and occasion for the exercise of clemency would have been after the guilt of the accused had been established. Clemency may be claimed for a refusal to execute—not for a failure to prosecute. The fact that the Government of that day shrank from subjecting to this test the question whether the action of ten States was treason, as charged on one side, or a great Constitutional right, as claimed on the other, admits of no reasonable explanation, except that they *dared not*. By this I mean that no *fear* prevented, other than moral fear, arising from consciousness of a weak or doubtful cause. And yet this stale and vapid imputation to the South of "treason" and "rebellion" continues to constitute a staple of popular declamation on the floors of Congress and elsewhere, as if the highest political crime known to our laws could be fastened upon whole communities and Commonwealths by the flippant or malevolent assumptions of partisans and demagogues!

This is a brief and imperfect outline of what I conceive to have been some of the most serious "errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power,"—not stated by way of complaint or accusation, but in frank response to your inquiry. The subject is not an agreeable one, and I gladly leave it.

9. "What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect?"

10. "What does the South *need* from them?"

11. "What does the South *expect* to get from them?"

I have no authority to speak for the South in answer to these questions, and cannot undertake to do so. Whatever her needs, the South has certainly not asked anything in the past, and, it is to be presumed, desires nothing in the future, except fair dealing, equity and non-interference with the domestic and internal affairs of the respective States. She ought to ask nothing less, if her position is to be that of equality

in the Union, and has neither the power nor the disposition (so far as I am informed,) to demand anything more.

As to her *expectations*, the experience of the past and the declarations of purpose for the future by the dominant party, would indicate that *they* ought to be still more restricted. General Garfield, the President-elect, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, in October, 1879, (as reported by the press,) expressed himself as follows :

"I would clasp hands with those who fought against us, make them my brethren, and forgive all the past, only on one supreme condition : That it be admitted in practice, acknowledged in theory, that the cause for which we fought and you [his hearers] suffered, was, and is, and forevermore will be, right,—eternally right; that the cause for which *they* fought was, and forever will be, the cause of treason and wrong. Until that is acknowledged, *my* hand shall never grasp any rebel's hand across any chasm, however small."

In other words, Gen. Garfield requires of us, as the "supreme" and indispensable condition of his amity, not merely a frank and full submission to the results of the war, but a theoretical and practical acknowledgment that the sword is infallible in determining questions of right, as well as of might, and that truth is always on the side of the heaviest artillery. He requires us to confess that we were traitors and malefactors, either wilfully and knowingly, or else "ignorantly in unbelief," like Saul of Tarsus; and in the latter case, that we have been converted, not by reason or light from heaven, but by the logic of the bayonet and the power of numbers. This is the ultimatum proposed by the President-elect, as the condition of his fellowship. If the vote of his party is to be taken as an endorsement of it, the case may be considered as closed. If we could accede to such terms, we should be unworthy of the fellowship of freemen.

12. "Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?"

It would be presumptuous to give an unqualified answer to this question. So far as facts are concerned, I have no doubt that what has been above stated would be confirmed by the evidence of others; but with regard to opinions, I have conferred with nobody in writing this letter, and can answer only for myself. I am not aware of any material difference between my own opinions and those of my fellow-citizens in general on the points concerned, but have no authority, and can make no claim, to speak for them in any particular.

Pardon the unforeseen length to which this letter has extended itself, notwithstanding my efforts to condense it.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. T. WALTHALL.

THE BRITISH PHILISTINE.

MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE has a most readable paper on "The British Philistine" in the April *Atlantic*. He has said well what was well worth saying; what, indeed, had been dumbly crying out for some Yankee to say it. It seems to us that copies of Lowell's essay "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," and of this essay of Mr. White's, might be issued separately in little pamphlets, to be administered to the wandering Briton as soon as he sets foot on our shores. Who knows but what a prompt application of simple remedies like these might save the traveller from an attack of a desire-to-write-a-book-about-America,—a strange and little understood malady to which something in our climate seems to render the British traveller subject? Perhaps it might be well for every custom-house inspector to be provided with these tracts, so that they could be slyly slipped into the Englishman's portmanteau, as a full consideration for the illegal fee which the stranger has considerably dropped into the inspector's hand, and the latter has surreptitiously passed into his pocket. We throw out the suggestion thus crudely expressed, with the hope that it may lead to the formation of a special society for the conversion of the British Philistine. Perhaps Mr. Matthew Arnold might be induced to accept the vice-presidency of the new organization.

To drop for a little space from pure philanthropy like this to gentle gossip,—we are moved by Mr. White's anecdote of the lady who protested against his calling England an island, to tell two or three little stories, more or less akin thereto. They all relate to the Philistine's attitude towards America, or, rather, towards that part of the continent which the Philistine terms "the States." The attitude of the British Philistine towards America is the result of ignorance, and this ignorance is either ill-meaning and brutal, or well-meaning and patronizing. Mr. White says little of the ill-meaning and brutal ignorance, and with right, for it is passing away, and exists only in a few places, very high or very low. It is that sort of British Philistinism which uses the word "Yankee" as a term of reproach,—that sort of brutal ignorance which prompted an old family servant of an English gentleman, some thirty or more years ago, to hide behind the door to see the bride whom her master was bringing from America, and to cry out in astonishment, as the stranger crossed the threshold, "Why, she's white!" Although the bride was the aunt of the writer, it has never been demonstrated whether the worthy old woman expected to have a red mistress or a black one; but, as the meeting took place near Liverpool, it is probable that she supposed she would have to serve a swarthy field-hand or American blackamoor. The same sort of brutal ignorance it was the writer's own fate to meet once, and once only. The literary Englishmen

whom we have had the pleasure of meeting are few of them Philistines, and those few are in due course of conversion. But once, when at a Bohemian club in London, we encountered a loud-voiced and hard-featured little man, who soon showed himself the fine flower of brutal British Philistinism. Hearing that the writer was an American, the fellow came across the room and announced that he was the editor of a certain sporting paper, and that he had tried to sell his cuts to an American journal, but that another American paper always stole them first. Then he added, as the moral of his remarks, that "Americans were a nation of thieves." If we had generalized from a single instance, as he did, we might have retorted that the "British were a nation of drunkards." But we did not.

The British Philistine of this kind is, we have said already, scarce even now, and happily getting scarcer. The well-meaning and rather patronizing Philistinism, of which Mr. White writes at length, is still common enough, not to say general, in such society as an American literary man is likely to meet in England. It is to be seen now and then in the pages of *Punch*, although that weekly jester has somewhat inclined its manners toward us since Tom Taylor wrote his fine verses on Abraham Lincoln. It is to be seen very frequently in the *Saturday Review*,—a journal which was started to combat and convert the Philistine, but which has become a pervert, and has now risen to the office of high priest of Baal. Nowhere is the need of Mr. Lowell's essay to be seen more plainly than in the humorous article which appears at the end of the *Saturday Review* about once a month, under the title of "American Literature." Who was the wit who declared that there were three kinds of critics,—good critics, bad critics and the critics who wrote about "American Literature" in the *Saturday Review*? Of course, not all of the writers in the *Saturday Review* are Philistines. The dramatic critic, in particular, does not bow his head before the false gods. It was not a little surprising, and quite as gratifying, to see that the *Saturday Review* was the English journal which gave Mr. Edwin Booth the most discriminating and the most cordial criticism appearing in any of the London papers of repute. But, in general, there is a carefully-acquired ignorance of all things American, especially of American books. I remember being told three years ago by one of the most delightful of English poets, that he took the *Atlantic*, and was, in consequence, looked upon by many of his fellow-writers as one having a marvellous erudition in American literature. And it is just possible that he thus learned enough about books and authors in America to recognize the value of the *Saturday Review's* criticism of Mr. T. B. Aldrich's "Queen of Sheba," which it thus disposed of: "The 'Queen of Sheba' is on the same level and of the same character as Mr. Aldrich's other poems."

After all, is not this attitude toward American writers but one form of the general British position toward all foreign writers, a position both uninquiring and imperious? Consider, for example, the greater ease with which a foreigner makes a reputation in this country. As a book, "Sartor Resartus" was first issued in the United States. And there are in print in English in this country, complete editions of M. Taine's works, and one almost complete of Turgenev's; things unattempted and uncalled for in England. Mr. White tells us that more books are originally published in England and Scotland in a month, than in the United States in a year. This may be so; but we are inclined to think that more translations from the French and the German are issued in the United States every year than in England. Our culture—such as it is—is more cosmopolitan and less insular. What Dr. Johnson said of the state of learning in Scotland, is as true of America,—"every man has a little, no man has a full meal." Now, in England, there are a few who have a full meal of learning, and a many, a very great many, who have not even a little.

This is a digression; and we return to our anecdotes. Here are two; both were told to the writer by a son of an American statesman of the highest rank. A score of years ago in England, they dined with a lady of very high birth, wearing nobly a well-known title; and, in the course of conversation, the English woman asked the wife of the American statesman if she had traveled much in the United States, following this up with the further question: "Then, I suppose you have seen, haven't you, the famous waterfall of *Nicaragua*?"

On another occasion, an English lady of almost equal rank said to her American sister: "I do wish you would tell what are the great lakes in America. Of course," she added, after a pause, "of course, I know Wenham Lake; but what are the others?"

How many people in America know Wenham Lake,—a little pond in Massachusetts, which owed its English fame to the fact that a certain "Wenham Lake Ice Company" was engaged in peddling cold comfort to the thirsty Britons?

Before abandoning the subject, it may be well to propound a final query:—Is it due to the spirit of British Philistinism that the English critics seek in all American work for a certain pronounced "local color," or loud color, rather; not finding which, they are prone to declare the work not truly American at all? By this ingenious reasoning, Mr. Walt Whitman is hailed as the only American poet, while Washington Irving is declared to be merely an Englishman who happened to be born in America. It was a knowledge of the existence of this feeling

that led Mr. Stedman to suggest to Mr. Booth that he should exhibit to the British a *Hamlet* wearing moccasins, and decked with wampum, and a *Macbeth* fighting *Macduff* with a tomahawk, and dancing a scalpdance before *Banquo's* ghost.

When Mr. Harris's "Uncle Remus" was published, and scattered folk-lore abroad among the people, it seemed to us that here at last was a book which the English critic, even the *Saturday Review*, might greet with favor. It has a distinct flavor; it is racy of the soil; it is a decided novelty; it owed nothing to the effete monarchies of despotic Europe; and we wait in patience, and with an amused curiosity, to see what the English critics will find to say about it. Especially are we curious to see what they make of the quaint phraseology in which "Uncle Remus's" wisdom is clothed. But there is one expression, not "Uncle Remus's," but Mr. Harris's own, which looks like a dreadful stumbling-block in the path of the Briton seeking instruction. Mr. Harris tells us that one day, as he was writing, "Uncle Remus" came into the office and stood by the exchange-table. Is there any American boy or girl, able to read the newspapers, who does not know what an "exchange-table" is? We doubt it. But how the word will puzzle the Briton! Probably he will take it as the latest Yankee invention for household use.

## LITERATURE.

### CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

OF any volume by the accomplished and liberal-minded Dean of Westminster, the reader does not need to be assured that it is worth reading. Deep, varied and sound scholarship, a fascinating style, and a breadth and humaneness befitting, but not always characterizing, the ecclesiastical writer of this nineteenth century,—all these combine to make the volume before us ("Christian Institutions, Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects"—Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D.,) one of the most attractive and satisfactory books that we have seen for many a day. The extremely orthodox may be shocked to find Ernest Réan frequently quoted, and the names of Strauss and Hamerton, Froude and Sydney Smith, occurring in the foot-notes as often as those of prophets, apostles and commentators; but unless their orthodoxy goes to the extent of illiberality, they will own that the matter selected is alike interesting and valuable. The Dean, too, has an excellent habit of drawing illustrations from English history and current life, such as might be commended to other writers on ecclesiastical subjects.

The volume contains seventeen essays,—on Baptism, the Eucharist, the Eucharist in the Early Church, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Real Presence, the Body and Blood of Christ, Absolution, Ecclesiastical Vestments, the Basilica, the Clergy, the Pope, the Litany, the Creed of the Early Christians, the Lord's Prayer, the Council and Creed of Constantinople and the Ten Commandments. Underneath the sentiments and usages which have accumulated around the forms of Christianity, the essayist holds that there is a class of principles which, however dimly expressed, has given them whatever vitality they possess. It is not contended that these principles were continually present to the minds of the Early Christians, or that they were not combined with much heterogeneous matter which interfered with their development; but it is maintained—and very reasonably—that there is enough in them of valuable truth to give them a use in times and circumstances widely different from those in which they originated. If die they must, the Sacraments, the Clergy, the Pope, the Creed, will take a long time in dying, and it is not useless to "indicate a rational point of view from which they may be approached, and to show the germs which, without a violent dislocation, may be developed into higher truth." While, in practical matters, the power of seeing likenesses is a rare and valuable gift, the power of discovering differences cannot be too highly prized in historical matters. The tendency to invest every age with the attributes of its own time—especially in religious history—is notorious in allmen, and is conspicuously illustrated in the Puritan idea that there was a Biblical counterpart to every institution or incident of modern ecclesiastical life, and in the endeavor of the Roman Catholics and Ritualists to discover in the Early Church their own theories of the Papacy, the Hierarchy, and the administration of the Sacraments. The best corrective for this passion for an imaginary past is to be found in keeping in view the total unlikeness of the first three centuries of the Christian era to anything now anywhere existing. "This reluctance to look the facts of history in the face," says Dean Stanley, "has favored the growth of a vast superstructure of fable;" and he adds a very happy illustration to the sound theory—Mr. Gladstone's, we believe,—that nothing is more natural than for a religious system to be born out of a state of things entirely opposite, of which state of things it will claim to be the genuine successor,—by citing the sober self-control eminently characteristic of the Society of Friends, with the enthusiastic and indecorous acts of its founder, George Fox. "Such a transformation may have occurred with regard to Christianity. If its earlier forms were quite unlike to those which have sprung out of them, it may be instructive to see in various instances the process by which the change took place. It does not follow that the earlier forms were more correct than the later, but it is necessary to a candid view of the subject to know that they existed."

The narrow limits of our notice compel us to confine ourselves to one chapter only of this admirable book,—that devoted to "Ecclesiastical Vestments," concerning which the Dean holds that antiquarian investigation into their origin leads to the conclusion that the dress of the clergy had no distinct intention, symbolic, sacerdotal, sacrificial or mystical, but originated simply in the fashions common to the whole community of the Roman Empire during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. They were not borrowed, in the first instance, "from Aaron's wardrobe, or the Flamen's vestry,"

and, if they symbolize anything, they symbolize ideas contrary to those now ascribed to them. The Roman, Greek or Syrian, whether peasant or gentleman, had, (unless in exceptional cases,) neither coat, hat, waistcoat, nor trowsers. He had shoes or sandals; a shirt, or jacket, either double or single; a long shawl, or plaid; and, especially in the later Roman period, a cloak or overcoat. The shirt—*chiton* or *tunica*—had sometimes beneath it another, fitting close to the skin—the *subucula*, called in the case of soldiers *camisia*, whence our *chemise*. This is the dress which became appropriated to the deacon—the name *alb* being derived from its white color—who, as the working man of the clergy, officiated, as it were, in his shirt-sleeves. Of the ancient *camisia*, there were two forms—one sleeveless, one more elaborate, and called the *dalmatica*, from its birthplace Dalmatia, as our modern Ulsters take their name from the northern province of Ireland. Commodus and Heliogabalus were the first to wear it, and when the latter appeared in it in public after dinner, he scandalized society, much as the Prince of Wales might do by walking up St. James's Street in his dressing gown. But the fashion spread; and, thirty years later, Cyprian of Carthage wore it at his martyrdom, though not as an outer garment. The *dalmatica* became fixed as the name of the deacon's dress after the time of Constantine, when it superseded the sleeveless *colobium*, and, though it quickly spread to the other orders, it was, for the reasons already given, particularly suitable to the inferior clergy, who, having nothing over it, required a more elaborate shirt. This was the first element of ecclesiastical vestments, as deacons were the first element of a Christian ministry. After the invasion of the barbarians, this shirt was drawn over the fur coat, sheep-skin, or otter-skin, the *pelisse* of the Northern nations; and hence arose the name of *overfur*—*super-pellium*, whence our *surplice*. To this period belongs the *rochet* or *rocket* (German, *rock*—a coat), the little coat worn by the medieval bishops out of doors, except when hunting, and which is now to the bishops what the surplice is to the presbyters, the lawn sleeves being merely an addition to make up for the long, flowing sleeves of the surplice.

Next came the shawl or blanket, wrapped round the shoulders—the Latin *toga* or *pallium*, usually white, which is still perpetuated in the white flannel robe of the Pope, but marked with a broad purple stripe. After the fourth century, the Christians affected the use of black shawls to imitate the philosophers and ascetics.

The only relic of the *pallium* is the archbishop's pall, the string which held it together or the broad stripe marking its surface. Next, and far more important, came the overcoat, sometimes worn over the *toga*, then instead of it, for convenience, and at last coming to be the usual dress, while the *toga* became a dress-coat, only to be worn on official occasions. It was a *poncho* or *burnous*, though there were several varieties of it—as the *caracalla*, a long-hooded overall brought from France by Antoninus Bassianus (whence its name), corrupted into *casacalla*, whence *casaca*, and *cassock*. The Italian laborers gave it the slang name of *casula*—their "little house," even as we call a "tile." (Coat also is the same as *cote*—*cot*—cottage.) Thence the *chasuble*, afterwards especially known as the outdoor garment of the clergy, and from the ninth century adopted as the vestment for sacred services. (It had another name—the *planeta*, or "wanderer," from its wandering loosely over the body, like our zephyr—loose overcoat.) There was also another form of overcoat—the hood; *capa*, or *copa*, also called the *pluviale* or "waterproof," to be worn in rainy weather out of doors. It was such a cape, or cope, which Saint Martin divided with the beggar at the gates of Amiens,—hence the *capella*, or chapel, the building in which the fragment was preserved. This is the vestment of which the secular use has longest maintained its hold. Another form of the same garb, though of a lighter texture, and chiefly used by ladies in riding, was the *cymar*, a trace of which lingers in the bishop's Latin robe. The mitre of the Eastern Church was a cap or turban, worn anciently by princes and nobles on festive occasions, and to this day by Russian peasant women, while the western division into two points is only the crease, the consequence of its being folded and carried under the arm in old times, as one of us nowadays would carry his opera hat. The *stole* came to be used for the *orarium* in the ninth century—curiously enough, the Greek word for the overcoat or whole dress being appropriated to the smallest detail,—the handkerchief. The handkerchief was on state occasions used as a ribbon, streamer or scarf, and hence adopted by the deacons, who had little else to distinguish them.

We have not space at our command to summarize Dean Stanley's remarks on the secular origin and transformation of the vestments, and must but briefly allude to his practical conclusions. The significance of these dresses, he declares, rests on no historical foundation, and there is this wide distinction between their origin and the origin of the ecclesiastical vestments of other religions;—the former were intended, not to separate the minister from the people, but to make him in outward show and appearance exactly the same. Whatever sacerdotal, sacramental, or symbolical associations have been attached to them, may be mediaeval, but are not primitive. It is the duty of everyone who is a voice, and not merely an echo, to proclaim the absolute indifference and triviality of such usages, when compared with matters of serious religion. It is the peculiar blot of parties in the Church of England to have fought for this or that particular kind of dress, as for matters of importance. There have been three great vestarian controversies in its history, the last of which continues to be waged fiercely, while no such disturbances have ever vexed the churches of Rome, Calvin and Luther. "Viewed merely in a doctrinal point of view, no more deadly blow could be struck at the ceremonial, and what may be called the Etruscan theory of religion, than to fill the atmosphere with the sense of the entire insignificance of dresses or postures. To speak of them as of no significance, is the true translation of the great maxim of the apostle: 'Circumcision availeth nothing, nor uncircumcision.' Could this absolute adiaphorism be made to take possession of the public mind, churchmen might then view more calmly the legal aspects of the question; and, whatever the decision as to the Ornaments' Rubric might be, it would be found that there were ample

consolations for the defeated side. But this controversy has too much diverted public attention from the substance to the accidents—has hidden the real danger of the tendency to encourage a morbid dependence on the priesthood, a vehement antagonism to the law, excessive value attached to the technical forms of theology and ritual, a revival of a scholastic phraseology which has lost its meaning, a passion for bitter controversy and for exaggeration of differences. These evils cannot be met by ecclesiastical or legal prosecutions; what is needed is not to exterminate the Ritualists, but to act independently of them,—to let them have the widest liberty in their own special localities, under the law, of course, while, at the same time, those who take another view of the main attractions of religion are permitted to enjoy the liberty which, till some thirty years ago, was theirs. "Let us," says Dr. Stanley, "be firmly persuaded that error is most easily eradicated by establishing truth, and darkness most permanently displaced by diffusing light; and then, whilst the best parts of the High Church party will be preserved to the Church by their own intrinsic excellence, the worst parts will be put down, not by the irritating and often futile process of repression, but by the pacific and far more effectual process of enforcing the opposite truths, of creating in the Church a wholesome atmosphere of manly generous feeling, in which all that is temporary, acrid and trivial will fade away, and all that is eternal, reasonable and majestic, will flourish and abound." (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

#### AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

MESSRS. E. P. Dutton & Co. are soon to publish a second volume of Bishop Huntingdon's sermons,—"Christ in the Christian Year."

The Harpers are making war on Scribner, or, rather, are carrying into Africa the war begun over Carlyle's "Reminiscences." They have put Froude's "Cæsar" into a fifteen-cent form, and published it in cloth at sixty cents; have reprinted Dean Stanley's "Christian Institutions," and announced a popular edition of the "Metternich Memoirs."

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have moved into their new building, 27 and 29 West Twenty-third Street, New York, near the Fifth Avenue Hotel, one of the best appointed buildings in the country.

The second volume of the "Memorial History of Boston," covering the provincial period of the history of the city, has just appeared.

Besides their "Lives of American Statesmen," edited by Mr. John T. Morse, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have in contemplation a series of volumes,—"American Men and Women of Letters,"—which will be prepared under the editorship of Mr. James T. Field.

Henry Holt & Co. are about to add to the "Leisure Hour" series Mrs. Harriett Prescott Spofford's earlier stories, "Azarian" and "The Amber Gods."

Scribner announces three volumes of "Literary Varieties," by the late Dr. Horace Bushnell.

Roberts Brothers are soon to issue a book by the Rev. W. R. Alger,—"The School of Life;" also, an account of the part taken by Massachusetts in the Woman's Suffrage movement, from the pen of Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson. They also announce the Rev. William M. Baker's "Blessed Saint Certainty," and the Boston Monday Lectures for 1860-1, bearing the general title of "Christ and Modern Thought," with an introductory lecture by Mr. Joseph Cook.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will publish, about a month hence, the first volume of "Bjornstjerne Bjornsen's Wake," translated by Professor R. B. Anderson, of the University of Wisconsin, who will also supervise the preparation of the "Memoirs" of Ole Bull.

Sir John A. Macdonald, who is seriously ill at present, will, whenever he passes away, leave a collection of personal and political memoirs which, though most fragmentary, will be found of singular interest—if their author is at all frank.

Lord Beaconsfield's "Memoirs," there is authority for stating, will not appear until ten years after his death, and will be edited by Lord Rowton.

A second edition of the "Bibliotheca Burnsiana," of Mr. James McKee of Kilmarnock, is soon to appear. Full and accurate as was the first edition, printed in 1866, it has been largely added to.

Mrs. Oliphant's new novel,—"Harry Joscelyn,"—is in press and will appear shortly.

Colonel Gordon's letters from Central Africa are soon to appear, and are said to be of singular interest and value.

Mme. Novikoff's book,—"Russia and England,"—is now allowed to be sold in the Czar's dominions, to which, not long ago, its entry was prohibited.

The next foreign mail will bring *Macmillan's*, which contains an article, by Mrs. Oliphant, on Carlyle's "Reminiscences," which, she declares, he never intended should see the light. Mrs. Oliphant insists that Carlyle neglected his wife and had some occasion for remorse on her death. She was left out of his invitations to grand houses, and used to make bitter remarks thereupon; spoke of his *magnum opus* as the "valley of the shadow of Frederick," and generally looked upon his weaknesses with an affectionate contempt.

"My South African Stewardship" is the name of a volume by Sir Bartle Frere, which is soon to see the light.

Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's "Uncle Remus" has been published in London, by David Bogue, and is made the subject of an enthusiastic, if not particularly able, review in the *St. James's Gazette*.

#### DRIFT.

—It would be harder to find a better definition of English party principles than that of Mr. Gladstone's. "Liberalism is trust of the people, tempered by prudence; Conservatism, distrust of the people, tempered by fear."

—The annual circular of a French dealer in decorations has been issued. Prices rule firm, with an upward tendency. The order of Wicham Ifskar of Tunis can be had for \$500 or \$600; that of St. Sylvester of Rome for \$900; that of St. Gregory the Great for \$1,000, at which price the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun is held. There is a brisk trade in these ribbons, which are genuine; and not a few of the Roman Orders come to America.

—The Palatine Library of the University of Heidelberg has just recovered three Greek manuscripts, of which it lost possession in 1620. They contain the "Cassandra" of Lycophron (second century B. C.), together with unpublished fragments of Aeschylus, Euripides and Hesiod.

—The active controversy between Mr. Whittier and Dr. George E. Ellis, as to the historical accuracy of "The King's Missive," has been closed, and the critic has clearly made out his case.

—Mr. Joseph Cook has been lecturing in Edinburgh, and has been taken to task severely by several critics for loose and unscientific statements.

—European papers have had much to say about the railway, fourteen miles long, built on the ice between Oranienbaum and Cronstadt. Such railroads, however, are not novelties, as they have been successfully operated both at Bismarck and at Montreal.

#### THOUGHTS FROM THE MAGAZINES.

**NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.**—Judge Albion W. Tourgee has been emboldened by his success as political novelist to appear as a political philosopher. His "Reform versus Re-formation," is an attack upon the Civil Service Reform, which to him is not a reform, but a re-formation. "It is a proposition to overturn not only the practice, but apparently some of the basic principles of our Government." His first objection to the Pendleton bill is the want of Constitutional power to enforce it. "The power of appointment is an act of discretion, and the right to vest that power does not give the right to control its exercise." "There are probably few lawyers who believe a claim based on such legislation would be upheld by the courts." Second, if the system is good for minor offices, it is good for all offices, and ought to be extended to all appointive offices except the Cabinet. Third, the proposed system is not based on business principles. "If it is a mere question of dollars and cents," why should not the business of government be let out by contract to the lowest bidder. Fourth, the Government has no right to exclude any class of citizens from the rights of citizens. Fifth, life tenure tends inevitably to formalism and routine, and there is great danger in the establishment of "an office-holding class." Sixth, competitive examinations do not furnish a test of a man's practical fitness for any official position. Finally, "change is beneficial and wholesome."

Bishop McQuaid, an old opponent of the public schools, renews his attack upon them from a Roman Catholic point of view, as "Christless and Godless." The founders of the public school system were deeply religious men, and, until recent years, there was no dispute that religion was an essential part of public education. Now, the public schools fail altogether to supply this essential. "The uselessness of the Bible as a mere reading-book was demonstrated long ago." "Yet more do (Catholics) object to its use in the hearing of their children when the teacher is one whose sympathies and belief are opposed to their faith. The schoolmaster may never speak a word adverse to Catholic doctrine, and yet exercise a pernicious influence over the minds and hearts of Catholic children." A system under which, "in large cities, such as New York and Rochester, a third of the children turn from the open door of the public school on conscientious grounds," is "a failure and a cruel wrong." Bishop McQuaid's conclusion is that, "since the State has no religion, and cannot teach morals on the authority of Divine truth, its incapacity to educate is beyond doubt."

Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, in an article on the "Ownership of Railroad Property," contends at some length the "sweeping doctrine" laid down by the Supreme Court in the Chicago Elevator cases. "It may be safely asserted that no body of men in this country ever asked for or accepted an act of incorporation for business purposes, and invested their money in the enterprise, with an implied understanding that they dedicated the corporate property to a public use, or clothed it with a public interest by using it in a business which affects the community at large." "The public benefit that is to be derived from the incorporation and investment of private capital in a railroad, is the consideration on which all the corporate privileges are granted; and that consideration, passing to and accepted by the public as a full compensation for the grant, has spent all its force as soon as the grant has been executed. It cannot be made the foundation of a subsequent legislative control over the property that is to affect its management, its value to the owner, or the owner's dominion over it."

Mr. Springer, in his paper on "The Telegraph Monopoly," analyzes, from his point of view, the consolidation of the telegraph companies. Before the consolidation, his statement of the capital of the Western Union is that, of \$41,000,000, over \$26,000,000 was the product of scrip dividends, and \$15,000,000 represents the money actually invested. Of the \$23,400,000 issued to the American Union and Atlantic and Pacific, he thinks \$10,000,000 would more than cover the cost of both lines; while the additional \$15,000,000 issued to holders of Western Union was "pure water." "Hence, we have in the issue of \$39,000,000 of additional stock, in the purchase of the two companies named, at least \$28,000,000 of watered stock, making the whole amount of watered stock in the nominal capital of \$80,000,000 in the consolidated corporation, nearly

\$55,000,000, and leaving only \$25,000,000 to represent the actual capital invested. \$80,000,000 of stock upon which future dividends are to be paid of at least 8 per cent., would require \$6,400,000 annually. The \$20,000,000 actually invested" (he has just said that the whole plant of all three companies could be replaced for that sum,) "might, properly managed, earn 8 per cent., or \$1,600,000. Hence, the profit to be exacted from watered stock amounts to \$4,800,000 every year. The tax thus levied upon the business of the country is equal to a permanent debt of \$150,000,000 three per cent. bonds." Mr. Springer's remedy is the purchase of the lines by the Government, and the taking of the postal service, telegraphic and otherwise, "out of politics."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for April is particularly rich in good short sketches. "A Peep at the North of Ireland" is a slight account, distinctly from a tourist's point of view, of Moville and Londonderry, and the adjacent parts. The character of a paper, by Amelia E. Barr, on "Characteristic Dances of the World," is well enough indicated by its title.

An interesting article by Dr. Oswald on that shy and puzzling beast,—the mountain-sheep,—is probably the best popular description of its habits that has appeared. Dr. Oswald thinks that it will survive to evade the researches of classifiers and hunters.

The serial, "Craque-o'-Doom," is a story which deals with the evolution of the character of a poor and proud and mutinous girl among surroundings of more refinement than those in which she was born and reared. There is movement in it, and characterization also; and some of the incidental remarks show shrewdness of observation; as, for example:

"Like every country town over fifty years old, Barnet had its solid people who formed its society,—people whose goods increased with every generation, who lived in time-tinted, hospitable homesteads, sent their sons to college, their daughters to seminaries, and loved to prove to all strangers that they were not a whit behind the age. In such mature villages you find, instead of the provincial manners you have a right to look for, a jealous conformity to what these villages consider city life. But while the citizen is a free agent with his own set,—perhaps his club or several clubs, and his amusements,—aside from the serious business of life, the villager is hampered by a heavy etiquette and a servile imitation of what he considers standard models."

THE PENN MONTHLY.—This magazine has, with its April number, taken on a new cover and a new purpose. Hereafter it will contain many fresh features, while retaining its old elements of popularity. It is to be the organ of the University of Pennsylvania, and will contain full news of that institution and its graduates. Professor R. E. Thompson, in a paper on Carlyle, thus sums him up:

"For nearly sixty years, he had filled a definite place in the world, and had been a real influence upon the thought of his contemporaries. As has been truthfully said, there has been no such masterful mind in English literature since the time of Dr. Johnson, and Johnson dominated a much more circumscribed and manageable world than did this stern but humorous Scotchman, who judged men so harshly, and yet won their love by their discovery of depths of humanity in him,—resembling Johnson in both the roughness of the exterior and the tenderness of what lay beneath it. In one other respect the two men were alike,—they both lived through neglect and scorn, to taste the sweetness of a popularity which invested them with a kind of dictatorship. And both labored for the same end in all their works,—not as mere book-makers, but as the bearers of a message to their own generation, which they must not fail to speak.

... How great was his indirect influence, it is impossible to estimate. You may find the echo of his voice in Mr. Browning's poetry, in Mr. Ruskin's art criticisms, in Mr. Tyndall's eloquent expositions of science, in Mr. Froude's and Mr. Freeman's histories, in George Eliot's novels, in a thousand newspaper articles and Parliamentary speeches. He is pervasive and inevitable. He has effected his lodgment in the English and, in a less degree, in the American mind. He has been the herald of a new age of literary art,—an age which is emancipated from the empty notionalism and wooden mechanism of that in which he began to speak to his countrymen. The very primers,—nay, the very sermons,—of our time, begin to show that their authors have been to school at Craigenputtoch and Chelsea."

Dr. Thomas S. Sozinskey presents a paper on "Mortality Statistics," and remarks that their defectiveness is an obvious feature of them. He says:

"In Philadelphia, and also in several other cities of the United States, the record of deaths is very complete in most respects; and through the proper administration of a registration law, requiring certificates from physicians and undertakers, and permits from those in charge of burial places, it would be possible to make it very complete almost everywhere. But in this country, it is, for the most part, in the larger cities only that any systematic effort is made to obtain a full return of them."

The writer then demonstrates that mortality statistics are not easily understood; that, on the contrary, their true meaning cannot be discovered, save through critical examination of them in detail, if at all. It is also clear that they do not reflect the local sanitary condition of the place from which they are drawn, and that it is simply absurd to compare aggregate death-rates of different places.

SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY.—The illustrations in the April *Scribner* are so notable that one does not look at the text until after he has exhausted them; and the text of an illustrated article should not be too separately interesting.

"Father Hyacinthe," by Bishop Doane, of Albany, is an admiring rather than a critical sketch, and incidentally gives what Bishop Doane regards as the character of the "movement" which the ex-Carmelite has begun.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.—Earnest W. Cushing, M. D., contributes a suggestive paper to this review on statutes regulating the practice of medicine. The necessities for such legislation are so apparent that there is no need of recapitulating them. The obstacles to legislation arise from three causes: First, the division of educated physicians into three bodies, hostile to and jealous of each other, united only in condemnation of the great army of quacks and conjurors that prey on society; second, the difficulty of fixing the proper standard of professional attainment, owing to the difference in the requirements of medical colleges which are empowered to grant diplomas of M. D.; and, third, the opposition of spiritualists, clairvoyants, magnetic rubbers and other claimants to superhuman powers of healing.

## FINANCE.

NEW YORK, April 6, 1881.

The course of the Stock Exchange speculation in stocks during the week ending to-day can be described in a few words. It has been extremely irregular, and closes so, with about half the active stocks materially higher and half of them materially lower. There was early strength, furnished in the main by the residue "short" interest from the previous week; but after there had been an approximate settlement of outstanding contracts on this side, the market relapsed into dullness, and prices displayed a decided tendency to-day. There were at times spasmodic stimulations of quotations, but the week did not pass without a considerable decline in prices on Monday last. The last two days, however, witnessed a very firm holding of quotations, with the close being made as described above, but on an apparently steady basis. The irregularity of the market may be best indicated by contrasting the changes shown by kindred stocks. Among the coal shares, Delaware and Hudson is up  $\frac{1}{8}$ , but Delaware, Lackawanna and Western is down  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and New Jersey Central  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . Among the Vanderbilts, New York Central is unchanged, but Lake Shore is 2, and Michigan Central  $1\frac{1}{4}$  lower; among the Grangers, St. Paul common is up  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , but Northwestern common and St. Paul and Omaha preferred are down  $\frac{1}{8}$  and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  respectively; the Southwestern stocks are generally higher. Western Union Telegraph shows an advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The total transactions, however, have been much smaller, and a large proportion of the dealings represent only the result of the ephemeral trading of small brokers and the usual traders who seldom leave the market with an interest in it at the close of a day, on either "long" or "short" side. The outside public has turned a cold shoulder to stocks; and no wonder. So high are prices, that investors are not attracted, and speculators see too little margin for an advance during the pendency of the uncertainties which encompass the financial situation. The market's strength appears to be supplied by the cliques and "pools" on the "street," which have more stocks than they really desire, but which they dare not sell, for fear of utterly breaking down their own market. The speculative situation is a very unsatisfactory one; and yet Wall Street is so peculiar in its constitution and action, that it is hard to say which of two things will happen in the near future: (1) an attempt at general liquidation, that would inevitably bring about a heavy depreciation of values; or (2) the continuation of a vacillating market until the possible revival of an extravagant speculation, superinduced by a plethora of money in the summer.

Secretary Windom's visit to this city, to consult with our most prominent bankers and bank presidents, has been about the only interesting event of the week. The conference with the banking interest was held on last Friday, and Mr. Windom has returned to Washington. A great deal of unjust criticism has been expended upon the Secretary's delay in announcing his policy for meeting the 5 and 6 per cent. bonds that become redeemable this summer. Only from the thoughtless or disaffected can this censure come. The problem to be solved by the new Secretary, in avoiding the Scylla of inflation and the Charybdis of inaction, is no easy one. By the partisan attempt of the last Congress to injure the national banking system of the country, under the shield of the necessity for an intelligent refunding measure, which compelled a postponement of the question in a definite phase until next December, the Administration was left in an embarrassing position, from which it can be rescued only by the exercise of great skill and wisdom.

The Secretary made a very good impression on the bankers who met him, as regards moderation and conservatism. Speculators who have been relying upon some of his utterances in the past as a guarantee of the devotion of the Treasury Department to extravagant inflation measures, probably have miscalculated the effect of the assumption of a responsible office that is generally produced upon even extreme theorists. But it has passed into a proverb of political economy, that a party is always less radical in office than out of it, and this applies as well to individuals. It does not seem unsafe to say that Mr. Windom will use the only two resources at his command to redeem by purchase the redeemable bonds of 1881,—first, by the sale of the \$105,000,000 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. bonds, he still has the authority to issue, and, secondly, by the employment of the ordinary surplus revenues of the Government. The bonds, either class, will almost certainly net the Government between \$115,000,000 and \$120,000,000; the surplus revenues will, on a reasonable estimate, yield from \$80,000,000 to \$90,000,000, so that \$200,000,000 is not a wide estimate of the funds of the Treasury available for the bonds redemption. A large banking house in this city suggested to the Secretary that with this capital the Government could safely advertise that it would pay off all the 5's and 6's on a certain date, but offering, at the same time, to the bondholders the privilege of having the option of the Government extended if a lower rate of interest would be accepted on the bonds. This suggestion was characteristic of the sanguine, happy-go-lucky financial principles of the house referred to, but it would hardly be proper for the United States Government to adopt. Under any circumstances, it would be taking a risk of seriously damaging the credit of the Government, to announce a day when \$600,000,000 or \$700,000,000 bonds might be presented to be paid with \$200,000,000. Certain it is, that more bonds would be presented than could be taken care of, if the rate of interest during the proposed extended time should be fixed at too low a figure. Nevertheless, the indications are that this plan, modified somewhat, may be adopted. Holders of the maturing 5's and 6's might be invited to accept voluntarily an extension of the option of redemption of the Government on their bonds, at say,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest until some fixed date which would be far enough away to allow of an equitable settlement of the refunding question by the next Congress. If a fair rate of interest were fixed, and if the Administration were to show a disposition not to abuse the confidence of those holders who consented to a reduction of their interest, the response to such a proposition might be

so general that the Treasury Department could practically refund the maturing Government debt on a basis that would render the definite settlement of the question by Congress easy.

In Southern State bonds there has been an enormous activity, and an advance in prices of five to fifteen per cent. The revival came by reason of the final action of the Tennessee Senate in passing the bill for the settlement of the debt of that State on the basis of three per cent., at par, for the principal and accrued interest of the old bonds. On last Friday, the rejection of the bill by the Senate caused a break in the Tennessee issues of from ten to fifteen per cent., but the recovery was quick and handsome when the measure was finally adopted on reconsideration. The beneficial effect of this settlement by Tennessee will be almost incalculable, both as an example to other repudiating States and as redounding to the improvement of the confidence of capitalists in that particular State's material attractions. The immediate visible speculative effect was to stimulate a heavy demand, at buoyant prices, for many other Southern State securities, which, at the moment, are of the character of "financial 'cats and dogs.'" Railroad bonds have been active and generally stronger, and there has been a material advance in the price of Government bonds.

The bank statement which was issued by the New York Clearing House last Saturday, when taken in connection with the transactions of the Sub-Treasury for the week, can only be explained by assuming that shipments amounting to a considerable sum were made, during the last days of April, to Northern New York, Pennsylvania and other country banks east of the Alleghany Mountains. The domestic exchanges

would not permit shipments to the South and West, and, in fact, there has been little demand this spring from those sections. The Sub-Treasury paid out during the week ending last Friday night, over \$3,650,000 more gold than it received from other sources than the Mint, and \$767,000 more than its receipts of currency. Nevertheless, the banks lost nearly \$282,000 in reserve. The scarcity of currency has made it necessary to ship gold in considerable quantities, notwithstanding the increased expense over currency shipments. A portion of the discrepancy in the statement may probably also be ascribed to the absurd system of reporting by averages instead of giving the actual condition of the banks on a given day.

The Philadelphia stock market has been dull and uninteresting. The first of April settlements had no effect upon the money markets, and operators seem to be waiting, Micawber-like, for something to turn up. The Reading election question still remains unsettled, and the delay is giving considerable dissatisfaction. Whatever may be the decision of the court, it is now thought that the matter will be carried to the court of last resort, which means, of course, further delay—possibly until the time for holding another annual meeting. The annual meeting of the Junction Railroad, over which there has been such a lively contest for a year or two past, resulted in the election of Isaac Hinckley, president; George B. Roberts, Henry M. Phillips, Franklin B. Gowen, S. M. Felton, John C. Sims, Jr., secretary, and W. H. Frailey, treasurer. The American Steamship Company also held its annual meeting on Monday, when the statement of the year's business was read, showing a deficit of \$57,510 after paying expenses and interest on the mortgage bonds of the Company.

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